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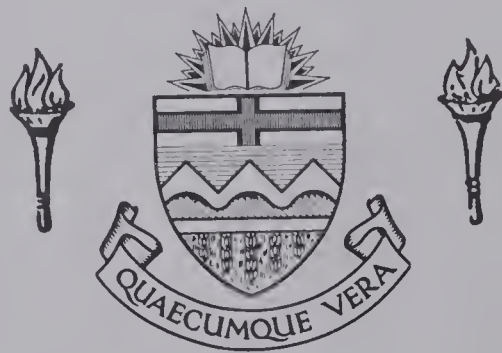
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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
EDMONTON CENTRE--A CONSTITUENCY STUDY  
JUNE 1968

by



ASHWIN SHINGADIA

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Edmonton Centre--A Constituency Study, June 1968", submitted by Ashwin Shingadia in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE SURVEY

Constituency studies as distinct from nation-wide or province/state-wide studies are a new phenomena in political science. This observation is even more true of Canada than of the United States or Britain. The main reason for this neglect seems to be the lack of interest shown by political scientists in constituency affairs coupled with the suspicion of the local political party dignitaries and organisations towards any kind of research carried out "exposing" them, as well as the suspicion of the unknown outsider--the research worker. Thus whatever little was studied about constituencies was done by the local newspapers or political rivals recording their own versions of victory or defeat. The results tended to be journalistic, emotive and lacking in scholarship.

The growth of T.V. and the mass media, the greater respectability given to research workers, the refinement of survey research techniques and the willingness of research workers to try to explain some specific variable against a general trend have all contributed in the last few years to the growing popularity of constituency studies.





The study of constituency elections like that of national elections has three approaches. Firstly, the most recently developed approach makes extensive use of sample surveys to focus upon the social and psychological attributes of the individual voter. This approach originated from the pioneering work of Paul Lazarsfeld<sup>1</sup> at Columbia University and has been perfected mainly by the Survey Research Centre of the University of Michigan.<sup>2</sup> The first constituency study in Canada using a straight survey was that of Scarborough in 1957.<sup>3</sup> However, the survey questions did not play an important part in the study and a large part of the study tended to be descriptive. Pauline Jewett in 1960 examined the Peterborough and Niagara Falls by-elections using a sampled mailed questionnaire from the voters' list focusing her attention on the type of people who supported the "New Party".<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>B. R. Berelson, P. F. Lazarsfeld and H. Gaudet, The People's Choice: How the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954).

<sup>2</sup>A. Campbell et al., The American Voter (New York: Wiley, 1960).

<sup>3</sup>P. Fox, "A Study of One Constituency in the Canadian Federal Election of 1957", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXIV (May, 1958), pp. 230-240.

<sup>4</sup>P. Jewett, "Voting in the 1960 Federal By-Election at Peterborough and Niagara Falls: Who Voted New Party and Why", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXVII (February, 1962), p. 36.



The publication of the 1962 election papers<sup>5</sup> for the first time brought together a collection of constituency studies in one book. John Meisel had given the individual contributors great scope with the result that there was no one consistent theme or approach. There were two survey-based studies. George Perlin used an interview sample in St. Johns West<sup>6</sup> and Peterson and Avakumovic sent out a sampled post-election questionnaire to the voters of Winnipeg North Centre.<sup>7</sup> Also based on the 1962 elections is the sample interview study of Hamilton, Ontario.<sup>8</sup> Grace Anderson has attempted to examine the relationship between vote preference and variables of religious affiliation and ethnicity separately.

With the growing interest in "behavioural" studies there has been an increase in interest shown in voting behaviour using survey and statistical methods to try to validate certain hypotheses. A study of Saskatoon City<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>J. Meisel (ed.), Papers on the 1962 Election (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964).

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 1-18.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 67-91.

<sup>8</sup>G. M. Anderson, "Voting Behaviour and Ethnic Religious Variable: A Study of a Federal Election in Hamilton, Ontario", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXXII (February, 1966), p. 36.

<sup>9</sup>J. C. Courtney and D. E. Smith, "Voting in Provincial General Election and a Federal By-Election: A Constituency Study of Saskatoon City," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXXII (August, 1966), pp. 338-353.



has tried to specify the concept that Canadians vote for one party Federally and another Provincially by trying to discover which voters switch their electoral support. The survey was carried out using a mailed sample survey in the post-election period. In Waterloo-South 1964 Provincial by-election, John Wilson<sup>10</sup> carried out a survey using 606 interviews. His study is probably one of the better ones where the survey is used to its fullest extent to show that a new type of "class" politics is developing in Canada comparable to those in the older democracies. Laponce<sup>11</sup> has used the data from an interview sample survey of a Vancouver Federal riding to form a typology of non-voting and non-voters.

The second approach is represented by the series of Nuffield College studies of British General Elections.<sup>12</sup> This method is less concerned with the individual voter as such but attempts an overview of an election as a whole and of the ingredients that shape it. John Meisel's book,

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<sup>10</sup>J. Wilson, "Politics and Social Class in Canada: The Case of Waterloo-South," Canadian Journal of Political Science, I (September, 1968), pp. 288-309.

<sup>11</sup>J. P. Laponce, "Non-Voting and Non-Voters: A Typology," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXXIII (February, 1967), pp. 79-80.

<sup>12</sup>See Series of British General Election Studies for 1951, 1955, 1964 and 1965 by D. E. Butler and A. King (London: Macmillan).





The Canadian General Election of 1957, epitomises the Nuffield approach in Canada and covers: 1) election issues as they were shaped by party platforms and appeals; 2) the role and organisation of party headquarters and connection with levels and types of campaigning; 3) electioneering techniques; 4) activities and expenditures within the constituencies; 5) personal attributes and political experience of candidates; 6) itinerary of party leaders and campaign style; 7) changes in turnout and party support.

An equivalent of Meisel at the constituency level is a study done of Eglinton by Brian Land.<sup>13</sup> He deals with the socio-economic description of the constituency, the election machinery, nominations, issues as presented by the candidates, the campaign and election results. Most of Land's data was obtained from census figures, newspapers, personal interviews and a survey conducted by a local survey research company.

The third approach to constituency studies is the oldest. It deals primarily with election statistics using aggregate data and was originated by Andre Siegfried<sup>14</sup> at

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<sup>13</sup>B. Land, Eglinton: The Election Study of a Federal Constituency (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1965).

<sup>14</sup>See Tableau Politique de la France de l'Ouest sous la Troisieme Republique (Paris: Armand Colin, 1913).





the turn of this century. It was refined by Herbert Tingsten<sup>15</sup> and later by V. O. Key and his disciples. The pioneering constituency study in Canada with emphasis on voting behaviour is that of Kingston, Ontario.<sup>16</sup> It uses both the survey and aggregate method. The inference of religious voting behaviour and especially of religious differences in the Federal and Provincial vote is drawn mainly from aggregate data.<sup>17</sup> Meisel's 1962 election papers contain two aggregate data constituency studies. The study of Levis<sup>18</sup> in Quebec used aggregate data where population, sex, participation and occupation are independent variables while party gains and losses form the dependent variables. Scarrow's<sup>19</sup> study of an Ontario riding describes the nominating process, party electoral organisation and the

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<sup>15</sup>Political Behaviour: Studies in Election Statistics (trans. Vilgot Manning), (Totowa: Bedminton Press, 1963). First published in 1937 as Vol. 7 of Stockholm Economic Studies.

<sup>16</sup>J. Meisel, "Religious Affiliation and Electoral Behaviour: A Case Study," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXII (November, 1956), pp. 481-496.

<sup>17</sup>For much of the material used in summarising the third approach, I am heavily indebted to Professors Engelmann and Gilsdorf's paper, "Recent Behavioural Political Science in Canada: An Assessment of Voting Behaviour Studies," Mimco., delivered at 1966 Annual Meeting of Canadian Political Science Association, Sherbrooke, Quebec, June 8, 1966.

<sup>18</sup>Meisel (ed.), Papers on the 1962 Election (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), pp. 33-52.

<sup>19</sup>In Meisel (ed.), loc. cit., pp. 53-67.



party supporters. Aggregate data is very effectively used in describing the characteristics of the poll captains. Scarrow classifies them according to their occupational status and attitudes towards policies. Party support was calculated using census tracts which were grouped by ethnic origin and income making it possible to have a historical comparison of the 1957, 1958 and 1962 elections.

Recently J. W. Simmons studied the Middlesex East Federal Election using aggregate data.<sup>20</sup> Unofficial returns for each candidate for each poll were combined to form the total vote. The turnout was examined by comparing votes cast with the number on the voting list. The socio-economic data was gathered from enumeration areas which did not coincide with the polls. The two were matched as closely together as possible and both the voting statistics and socio-economic variables were converted to percentages. The variables included age-sex structure, religion, ethnic background and education characteristics. Simmons used multiple regression techniques to combine census small area information with voting results at the poll level.

One of the most recent studies done on

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<sup>20</sup>J. W. Simmons, "Voting Behaviour and Socio-Economic Characteristics: The Middlesex East Federal Election, 1965," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXXIII, No. 3 (August, 1967), pp. 389-400.



constituencies is that of Professors Bronson and Beck.<sup>21</sup> They used a survey from voting lists of five single member Saskatoon constituencies, but much of their analysis was on aggregate level. They related the voters' subjective occupational classification to dependent variables like voters and non-voters, size of plurality and party support.

Our approach here is to study the newly created constituency of Edmonton Centre by a combination of the Nuffield tradition and the aggregate data method. The survey research method would ideally be most appropriate for this type of a study but financial, time and organisational considerations rule this out. However, the Department of Political Science at the University of Alberta is engaged in a study of the same constituency using purely the survey method. Our study is, therefore, complementary and we hope that some of their findings may corroborate ours and vice versa.

The main advantages of the aggregate data method are that it can be used for voting studies of historical periods, can be done easily and cheaply and lends itself to effective statistical explanation.<sup>22</sup> The main disadvantages are that it cannot supply information about the

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<sup>21</sup>H. E. Bronson and R. G. Beck, "An Occupational Analysis of Urban Voting Behaviour: The 1967 Saskatchewan Provincial Election" (Saskatoon: Department of Economics and Political Science [mimeo.], 1968).

<sup>22</sup>F. C. Engelman and R. E. Gilsdorf, op. cit., p. 7.





individual voter and that it limits the analyst to information provided by the data gathering agencies. I accept these limitations and do not try to generalise for the individual voter but hope to make the most effective use of the available data. Chapter II deals with the socio-economic characteristics of the constituency. Using census data we examine the population, sex, income, ethnicity, religion, education, occupation and housing conditions. Chapter III deals with the nomination process which is sub-divided into pre-nomination activities of the candidates and the nomination conventions of the political parties contesting in the constituency. Chapter IV deals with the campaign itself. This includes the personal background of the candidates, their constituency organisations, meetings held, the issues discussed, views of candidates on various issues, the role of the media--newspapers, radio and television--and finally election expenses. Chapter V deals with aggregate data voting analysis using the individual polls as the unit. We try to locate the strength of the various candidates in the polls and try to correlate turnout, ethnicity, sex and votes obtained by the candidates.

The author attended the nominating conventions, meetings, and tried to keep track of the candidates' activities. He interviewed the candidates and generally transcribed radio and television programmes connected





with the election. Newspaper cuttings were kept mainly from Edmonton Journal and Albertan but The Globe and Mail and Red Deer Advocate were consulted. Much relevant information was obtained from friends and personal acquaintances without whose help it would have virtually been impossible to cover such a wide area in a short time.



## CHAPTER II

### SOCIO-ECONOMIC DESCRIPTION OF THE CONSTITUENCY

Edmonton Centre was created by the redistribution brought about in 1966.<sup>1</sup> The population figures upon which the redistribution was based were those of the census taken in 1961. This new constituency was carved out from the old constituencies of Edmonton East and Edmonton West. Its boundary is as follows:

Starting at the intersection of One Hundred and Thirty-seven (137) Avenue with One Hundred and Forty-nine (149) Street; thence southerly along One Hundred and Forty-nine (149) Street to the centre line of the Canadian National Railway right-of-way; thence along the centre line of the said right-of-way to its intersection with St. Albert Trail; thence southeasterly along St. Albert Trail to One Hundred and Eighteen (118) Avenue; thence southerly along Groat Road to One Hundred and Seventeen (117) Avenue; thence easterly along One Hundred and Seventeen (117) Avenue to St. Albert Trail; thence southeasterly along the said Trail to One Hundred and Eleven (111) Avenue; thence westerly along One Hundred and Eleven (111) Avenue to Groat Road; thence southerly along Groat Road to One Hundred and Seven (107) Avenue; thence easterly along One Hundred and Seven (107) Avenue to the centre line of the Canadian National Railway right-of-way; thence southeasterly along the centre line of the said right-of-way to its intersection with One Hundred and Sixteen (116) Street; thence southerly along One Hundred and Sixteen (116) Street and its southerly prolongation to the left bank of the North Saskatchewan River; thence downstream along the left bank of the said river to its

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<sup>1</sup>Canada Yearbook (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1967), p. 1249.



intersection with the southerly prolongation of Eighty-two (82) Street; thence northerly along the said prolongation of Eighty-two (82) Street to the point of intersection of Jasper Avenue and Eighty-two (82) Street; thence southwesterly along Jasper Avenue to its intersection with the southerly prolongation of Eighty-four (84) Street; thence northerly along said prolongation, Eighty-four (84) Street and its northerly prolongation to the intersection with the centre line of the Canadian National Railway right-of-way; thence northeasterly along the centre line of the said right-of-way to its intersection with the centre line of One Hundred and Twelve (112) Avenue; thence westerly along One Hundred and Twelve (112) Avenue to its intersection with Ninety (90) Street and Norwood Boulevard; thence southwesterly along Norwood Boulevard to Ninety-seven (97) Street; thence northerly along Ninety-seven (97) Street to One Hundred and Thirty-seven (137) Avenue; thence westerly along One Hundred and Thirty-Seven (137) Avenue to the starting point.<sup>2</sup>

Examining the two maps--that show the boundaries of the Edmonton Centre constituency and of the Census Tracts<sup>3</sup>--we discover that there is a very close correspondence between the Census Tracts and the boundaries of the constituency. Such close correspondence is unusual and tracts and constituency boundaries cut across each other.

Census Tracts numbers 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 35 and 39 fit nearly exactly within the constituency boundaries. The only tract which overlaps across into the next constituency is tract 39 which stretches eastward by

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<sup>2</sup>Report of the Electoral Boundaries Commission for Alberta (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1965), pp. 11-12.

<sup>3</sup>Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census 1961, Catalogue 92.537, (Vol. I, pt. 1), Series 1.1, Bulletin 1.1-8 15-10, 1962, p. 3. From now on referred to as the Census.





This is a detailed street map of the Edmonton Centre area. The map shows a grid of streets including Kingsway Ave, Jasper Ave, and various numbered streets (e.g., 100 St, 107 St, 112 St). It also depicts the North Saskatchewan River, the city limits, and a compass rose indicating North, South, East, and West. The text "EDMONTON CENTRE" is prominently displayed across the map.

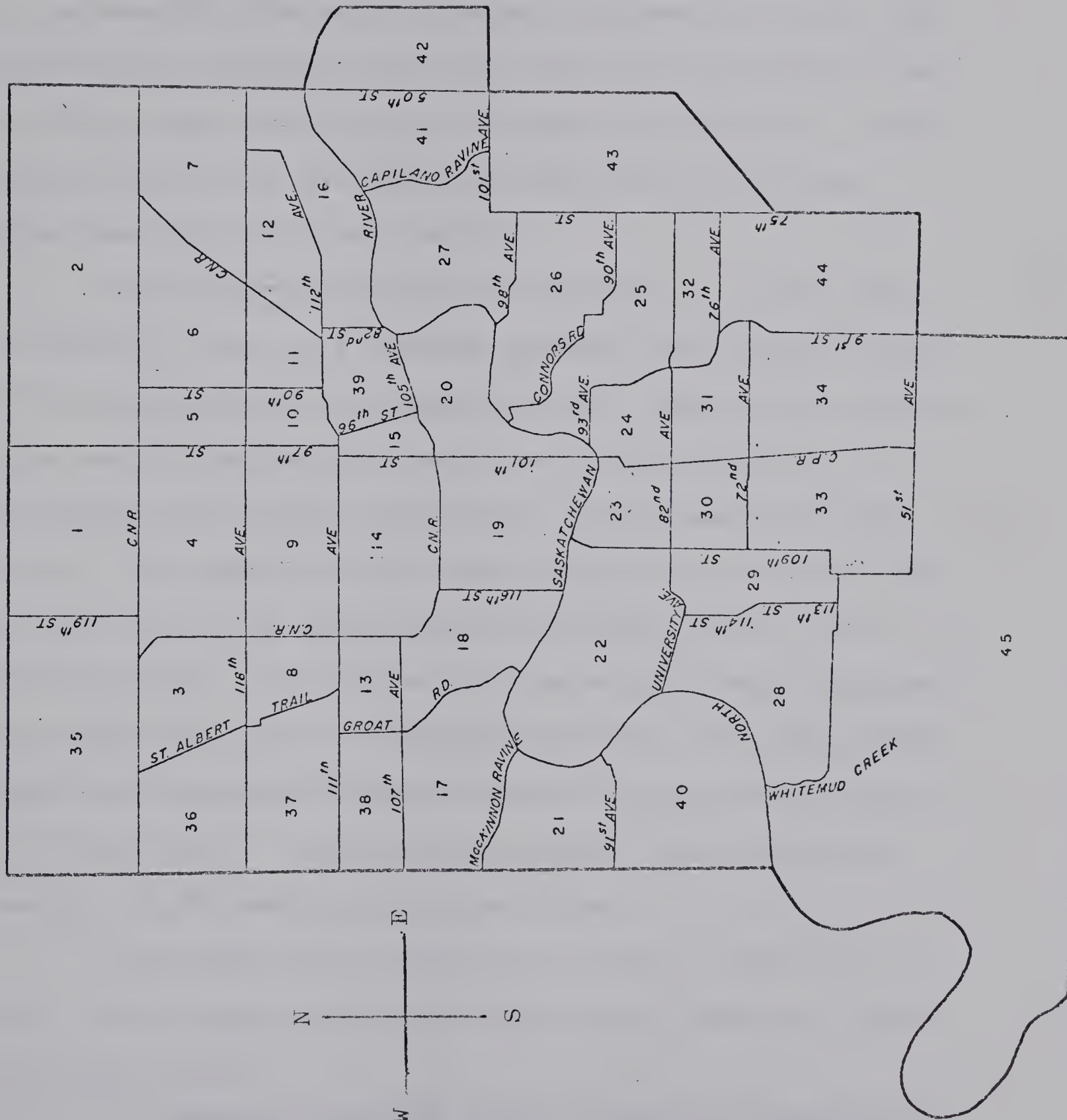
1872

| Date    | Particulars | Debit   | Credit  |
|---------|-------------|---------|---------|
| Jan 1   | Balance     |         | 100.00  |
| Jan 2   | By Cash     | 50.00   |         |
| Jan 3   | To Cash     |         | 25.00   |
| Jan 4   | By Cash     | 75.00   |         |
| Jan 5   | To Cash     |         | 100.00  |
| Jan 6   | By Cash     | 125.00  |         |
| Jan 7   | To Cash     |         | 150.00  |
| Jan 8   | By Cash     | 175.00  |         |
| Jan 9   | To Cash     |         | 200.00  |
| Jan 10  | By Cash     | 225.00  |         |
| Jan 11  | To Cash     |         | 250.00  |
| Jan 12  | By Cash     | 275.00  |         |
| Jan 13  | To Cash     |         | 300.00  |
| Jan 14  | By Cash     | 325.00  |         |
| Jan 15  | To Cash     |         | 350.00  |
| Jan 16  | By Cash     | 375.00  |         |
| Jan 17  | To Cash     |         | 400.00  |
| Jan 18  | By Cash     | 425.00  |         |
| Jan 19  | To Cash     |         | 450.00  |
| Jan 20  | By Cash     | 475.00  |         |
| Jan 21  | To Cash     |         | 500.00  |
| Jan 22  | By Cash     | 525.00  |         |
| Jan 23  | To Cash     |         | 550.00  |
| Jan 24  | By Cash     | 575.00  |         |
| Jan 25  | To Cash     |         | 600.00  |
| Jan 26  | By Cash     | 625.00  |         |
| Jan 27  | To Cash     |         | 650.00  |
| Jan 28  | By Cash     | 675.00  |         |
| Jan 29  | To Cash     |         | 700.00  |
| Jan 30  | By Cash     | 725.00  |         |
| Jan 31  | To Cash     |         | 750.00  |
| Feb 1   | By Cash     | 775.00  |         |
| Feb 2   | To Cash     |         | 800.00  |
| Feb 3   | By Cash     | 825.00  |         |
| Feb 4   | To Cash     |         | 850.00  |
| Feb 5   | By Cash     | 875.00  |         |
| Feb 6   | To Cash     |         | 900.00  |
| Feb 7   | By Cash     | 925.00  |         |
| Feb 8   | To Cash     |         | 950.00  |
| Feb 9   | By Cash     | 975.00  |         |
| Feb 10  | To Cash     |         | 1000.00 |
| Feb 11  | By Cash     | 1025.00 |         |
| Feb 12  | To Cash     |         | 1050.00 |
| Feb 13  | By Cash     | 1075.00 |         |
| Feb 14  | To Cash     |         | 1100.00 |
| Feb 15  | By Cash     | 1125.00 |         |
| Feb 16  | To Cash     |         | 1150.00 |
| Feb 17  | By Cash     | 1175.00 |         |
| Feb 18  | To Cash     |         | 1200.00 |
| Feb 19  | By Cash     | 1225.00 |         |
| Feb 20  | To Cash     |         | 1250.00 |
| Feb 21  | By Cash     | 1275.00 |         |
| Feb 22  | To Cash     |         | 1300.00 |
| Feb 23  | By Cash     | 1325.00 |         |
| Feb 24  | To Cash     |         | 1350.00 |
| Feb 25  | By Cash     | 1375.00 |         |
| Feb 26  | To Cash     |         | 1400.00 |
| Feb 27  | By Cash     | 1425.00 |         |
| Feb 28  | To Cash     |         | 1450.00 |
| Feb 29  | By Cash     | 1475.00 |         |
| Feb 30  | To Cash     |         | 1500.00 |
| Feb 31  | By Cash     | 1525.00 |         |
| Feb 32  | To Cash     |         | 1550.00 |
| Feb 33  | By Cash     | 1575.00 |         |
| Feb 34  | To Cash     |         | 1600.00 |
| Feb 35  | By Cash     | 1625.00 |         |
| Feb 36  | To Cash     |         | 1650.00 |
| Feb 37  | By Cash     | 1675.00 |         |
| Feb 38  | To Cash     |         | 1700.00 |
| Feb 39  | By Cash     | 1725.00 |         |
| Feb 40  | To Cash     |         | 1750.00 |
| Feb 41  | By Cash     | 1775.00 |         |
| Feb 42  | To Cash     |         | 1800.00 |
| Feb 43  | By Cash     | 1825.00 |         |
| Feb 44  | To Cash     |         | 1850.00 |
| Feb 45  | By Cash     | 1875.00 |         |
| Feb 46  | To Cash     |         | 1900.00 |
| Feb 47  | By Cash     | 1925.00 |         |
| Feb 48  | To Cash     |         | 1950.00 |
| Feb 49  | By Cash     | 1975.00 |         |
| Feb 50  | To Cash     |         | 2000.00 |
| Feb 51  | By Cash     | 2025.00 |         |
| Feb 52  | To Cash     |         | 2050.00 |
| Feb 53  | By Cash     | 2075.00 |         |
| Feb 54  | To Cash     |         | 2100.00 |
| Feb 55  | By Cash     | 2125.00 |         |
| Feb 56  | To Cash     |         | 2150.00 |
| Feb 57  | By Cash     | 2175.00 |         |
| Feb 58  | To Cash     |         | 2200.00 |
| Feb 59  | By Cash     | 2225.00 |         |
| Feb 60  | To Cash     |         | 2250.00 |
| Feb 61  | By Cash     | 2275.00 |         |
| Feb 62  | To Cash     |         | 2300.00 |
| Feb 63  | By Cash     | 2325.00 |         |
| Feb 64  | To Cash     |         | 2350.00 |
| Feb 65  | By Cash     | 2375.00 |         |
| Feb 66  | To Cash     |         | 2400.00 |
| Feb 67  | By Cash     | 2425.00 |         |
| Feb 68  | To Cash     |         | 2450.00 |
| Feb 69  | By Cash     | 2475.00 |         |
| Feb 70  | To Cash     |         | 2500.00 |
| Feb 71  | By Cash     | 2525.00 |         |
| Feb 72  | To Cash     |         | 2550.00 |
| Feb 73  | By Cash     | 2575.00 |         |
| Feb 74  | To Cash     |         | 2600.00 |
| Feb 75  | By Cash     | 2625.00 |         |
| Feb 76  | To Cash     |         | 2650.00 |
| Feb 77  | By Cash     | 2675.00 |         |
| Feb 78  | To Cash     |         | 2700.00 |
| Feb 79  | By Cash     | 2725.00 |         |
| Feb 80  | To Cash     |         | 2750.00 |
| Feb 81  | By Cash     | 2775.00 |         |
| Feb 82  | To Cash     |         | 2800.00 |
| Feb 83  | By Cash     | 2825.00 |         |
| Feb 84  | To Cash     |         | 2850.00 |
| Feb 85  | By Cash     | 2875.00 |         |
| Feb 86  | To Cash     |         | 2900.00 |
| Feb 87  | By Cash     | 2925.00 |         |
| Feb 88  | To Cash     |         | 2950.00 |
| Feb 89  | By Cash     | 2975.00 |         |
| Feb 90  | To Cash     |         | 3000.00 |
| Feb 91  | By Cash     | 3025.00 |         |
| Feb 92  | To Cash     |         | 3050.00 |
| Feb 93  | By Cash     | 3075.00 |         |
| Feb 94  | To Cash     |         | 3100.00 |
| Feb 95  | By Cash     | 3125.00 |         |
| Feb 96  | To Cash     |         | 3150.00 |
| Feb 97  | By Cash     | 3175.00 |         |
| Feb 98  | To Cash     |         | 3200.00 |
| Feb 99  | By Cash     | 3225.00 |         |
| Feb 100 | To Cash     |         | 3250.00 |
| Feb 101 | By Cash     | 3275.00 |         |
| Feb 102 | To Cash     |         | 3300.00 |
| Feb 103 | By Cash     | 3325.00 |         |
| Feb 104 | To Cash     |         | 3350.00 |
| Feb 105 | By Cash     | 3375.00 |         |
| Feb 106 | To Cash     |         | 3400.00 |
| Feb 107 | By Cash     | 3425.00 |         |
| Feb 108 | To Cash     |         | 3450.00 |
| Feb 109 | By Cash     | 3475.00 |         |
| Feb 110 | To Cash     |         | 3500.00 |
| Feb 111 | By Cash     | 3525.00 |         |
| Feb 112 | To Cash     |         | 3550.00 |
| Feb 113 | By Cash     | 3575.00 |         |
| Feb 114 | To Cash     |         | 3600.00 |
| Feb 115 | By Cash     | 3625.00 |         |
| Feb 116 | To Cash     |         | 3650.00 |
| Feb 117 | By Cash     | 3675.00 |         |
| Feb 118 | To Cash     |         | 3700.00 |
| Feb 119 | By Cash     | 3725.00 |         |
| Feb 120 | To Cash     |         | 3750.00 |
| Feb 121 | By Cash     | 3775.00 |         |
| Feb 122 | To Cash     |         | 3800.00 |
| Feb 123 | By Cash     | 3825.00 |         |
| Feb 124 | To Cash     |         | 3850.00 |
| Feb 125 | By Cash     | 3875.00 |         |
| Feb 126 | To Cash     |         | 3900.00 |
| Feb 127 | By Cash     | 3925.00 |         |
| Feb 128 | To Cash     |         | 3950.00 |
| Feb 129 | By Cash     | 3975.00 |         |
| Feb 130 | To Cash     |         | 4000.00 |
| Feb 131 | By Cash     | 4025.00 |         |
| Feb 132 | To Cash     |         | 4050.00 |
| Feb 133 | By Cash     | 4075.00 |         |
| Feb 134 | To Cash     |         | 4100.00 |
| Feb 135 | By Cash     | 4125.00 |         |
| Feb 136 | To Cash     |         | 4150.00 |
| Feb 137 | By Cash     | 4175.00 |         |
| Feb 138 | To Cash     |         | 4200.00 |
| Feb 139 | By Cash     | 4225.00 |         |
| Feb 140 | To Cash     |         | 4250.00 |
| Feb 141 | By Cash     | 4275.00 |         |
| Feb 142 | To Cash     |         | 4300.00 |
| Feb 143 | By Cash     | 4325.00 |         |
| Feb 144 | To Cash     |         | 4350.00 |
| Feb 145 | By Cash     | 4375.00 |         |
| Feb 146 | To Cash     |         | 4400.00 |
| Feb 147 | By Cash     | 4425.00 |         |
| Feb 148 | To Cash     |         | 4450.00 |
| Feb 149 | By Cash     | 4475.00 |         |
| Feb 150 | To Cash     |         | 4500.00 |
| Feb 151 | By Cash     | 4525.00 |         |
| Feb 152 | To Cash     |         | 4550.00 |
| Feb 153 | By Cash     | 4575.00 |         |
| Feb 154 | To Cash     |         | 4600.00 |
| Feb 155 | By Cash     | 4625.00 |         |
| Feb 156 | To Cash     |         | 4650.00 |
| Feb 157 | By Cash     | 4675.00 |         |
| Feb 158 | To Cash     |         | 4700.00 |
| Feb 159 | By Cash     | 4725.00 |         |
| Feb 160 | To Cash     |         | 4750.00 |
| Feb 161 | By Cash     | 4775.00 |         |
| Feb 162 | To Cash     |         | 4800.00 |
| Feb 163 | By Cash     | 4825.00 |         |
| Feb 164 | To Cash     |         | 4850.00 |
| Feb 165 | By Cash     | 4875.00 |         |
| Feb 166 | To Cash     |         | 4900.00 |
| Feb 167 | By Cash     | 4925.00 |         |
| Feb 168 | To Cash     |         | 4950.00 |
| Feb 169 | By Cash     | 4975.00 |         |
| Feb 170 | To Cash     |         | 5000.00 |
| Feb 171 | By Cash     | 5025.00 |         |
| Feb 172 | To Cash     |         | 5050.00 |
| Feb 173 | By Cash     | 5075.00 |         |
| Feb 174 | To Cash     |         | 5100.00 |
| Feb 175 | By Cash     | 5125.00 |         |
| Feb 176 | To Cash     |         | 5150.00 |
| Feb 177 | By Cash     | 5175.00 |         |
| Feb 178 | To Cash     |         | 5200.00 |
| Feb 179 | By Cash     | 5225.00 |         |
| Feb 180 | To Cash     |         | 5250.00 |
| Feb 181 | By Cash     | 5275.00 |         |
| Feb 182 | To Cash     |         | 5300.00 |
| Feb 183 | By Cash     | 5325.00 |         |
| Feb 184 | To Cash     |         | 5350.00 |
| Feb 185 | By Cash     | 5375.00 |         |
| Feb 186 | To Cash     |         | 5400.00 |
| Feb 187 | By Cash     | 5425.00 |         |
| Feb 188 | To Cash     |         | 5450.00 |
| Feb 189 | By Cash     | 5475.00 |         |
| Feb 190 | To Cash     |         | 5500.00 |
| Feb 191 | By Cash     | 5525.00 |         |
| Feb 192 | To Cash     |         | 5550.00 |
| Feb 193 | By Cash     | 5575.00 |         |
| Feb 194 | To Cash     |         | 5600.00 |
| Feb 195 | By Cash     | 5625.00 |         |
| Feb 196 | To Cash     |         | 5650.00 |
| Feb 197 | By Cash     | 5675.00 |         |
| Feb 198 | To Cash     |         | 5700.00 |
| Feb 199 | By Cash     | 5725.00 |         |
| Feb 200 | To Cash     |         | 5750.00 |
| Feb 201 | By Cash     | 5775.00 |         |
| Feb 202 | To Cash     |         | 5800.00 |
| Feb 203 | By Cash     | 5825.00 |         |
| Feb 204 | To Cash     |         | 5850.00 |
| Feb 205 | By Cash     | 5875.00 |         |
| Feb 206 | To Cash     |         | 5900.00 |
| Feb 207 | By Cash     | 5925.00 |         |
| Feb 208 | To Cash     |         | 5950.00 |
| Feb 209 | By Cash     | 5975.00 |         |
| Feb 210 | To Cash     |         | 6000.00 |
| Feb 211 | By Cash     | 6025.00 |         |
| Feb 212 | To Cash     |         | 6050.00 |
| Feb 213 | By Cash     | 6075.00 |         |
| Feb 214 | To Cash     |         | 6100.00 |
| Feb 215 | By Cash     | 6125.00 |         |
| Feb 216 | To Cash     |         | 6150.00 |
| Feb 217 | By Cash     | 6175.00 |         |
| Feb 218 | To Cash     |         | 6200.00 |
| Feb 219 | By Cash     | 6225.00 |         |
| Feb 220 | To Cash     |         | 6250.00 |
| Feb 221 | By Cash     | 6275.00 |         |
| Feb 222 | To Cash     |         | 6300.00 |
| Feb 223 | By Cash     | 6325.00 |         |
| Feb 224 | To Cash     |         | 6350.00 |
| Feb 225 | By Cash     | 6375.00 |         |
| Feb 226 | To Cash     |         | 6400.00 |
| Feb 227 | By Cash     | 6425.00 |         |
| Feb 228 | To Cash     |         | 6450.00 |
| Feb 229 | By Cash     | 6475.00 |         |
| Feb 230 | To Cash     |         | 6500.00 |
| Feb 231 | By Cash     | 6525.00 |         |
| Feb 232 | To Cash     |         | 6550.00 |
| Feb 233 | By Cash     | 6575.00 |         |
| Feb 234 | To Cash     |         | 6600.00 |
| Feb 235 | By Cash     | 6625.00 |         |
| Feb 236 | To Cash     |         | 6650.00 |
| Feb 237 | By Cash     | 6675.00 |         |
| Feb 238 | To Cash     |         | 6700.00 |
| Feb 239 | By Cash     | 6725.00 |         |
| Feb 240 | To Cash     |         | 6750.00 |
| Feb 241 | By Cash     | 6775.00 |         |
| Feb 242 | To Cash     |         | 6800.00 |
| Feb 243 | By Cash     | 6825.00 |         |
| Feb 244 | To Cash     |         | 6850.00 |
| Feb 245 | By Cash     | 6875.00 |         |
| Feb 246 | To Cash     |         | 6900.00 |
| Feb 247 | By Cash     | 6925.00 |         |
| Feb 248 | To Cash     |         | 6950.00 |
| Feb 249 | By Cash     | 6975.00 |         |
| Feb 250 | To Cash     |         | 7000.00 |
| Feb 251 | By Cash     | 7025.00 |         |
| Feb 252 | To Cash     |         | 7050.00 |
| Feb 253 | By Cash     | 7075.00 |         |
| Feb 254 | To Cash     |         | 7100.00 |
| Feb 255 | By Cash     | 7125.00 |         |
| Feb 256 | To Cash     |         | 7150.00 |
| Feb 257 | By Cash     | 7175.00 |         |
| Feb 258 | To Cash     |         | 7200.00 |
| Feb 259 | By Cash     | 7225.00 |         |
| Feb 260 | To Cash     |         | 7250.00 |
| Feb 261 | By Cash     | 7275.00 |         |
| Feb 262 | To Cash     |         | 7300.00 |
| Feb 263 | By Cash     | 7325.00 |         |
| Feb 264 | To Cash     |         | 7350.00 |
| Feb 265 | By Cash     | 7375.00 |         |
| Feb 266 | To Cash     |         | 7400.00 |
| Feb 267 | By Cash     | 7425.00 |         |
| Feb 268 | To Cash     |         | 7450.00 |
| Feb 269 | By Cash     | 7475.00 |         |
| Feb 270 | To Cash     |         | 7500.00 |
| Feb 271 | By Cash     | 7525.00 |         |
| Feb 272 | To Cash     |         | 7550.00 |
| Feb 273 | By Cash     | 7575.00 |         |
| Feb 274 | To Cash     |         | 7600.00 |
| Feb 275 | By Cash     | 7625.00 |         |
| Feb 276 | To Cash     |         | 7650.00 |
| Feb 277 | By Cash     | 7675.00 |         |
| Feb 278 | To Cash     |         | 7700.00 |
| Feb 279 | By Cash     | 7725.00 |         |
| Feb 280 | To Cash     |         | 7750.00 |
| Feb 281 | By Cash     | 7775.00 |         |
| Feb 282 | To Cash     |         | 7800.00 |
| Feb 283 | By Cash     | 7825.00 |         |
| Feb 284 | To Cash     |         | 7850.00 |
| Feb 285 | By Cash     | 7875.00 |         |
| Feb 286 | To Cash     |         | 7900.00 |
| Feb 287 | By Cash     | 7925.00 |         |
| Feb 288 | To Cash     |         | 7950.00 |
| Feb 289 | By Cash     | 7975.00 |         |
| Feb 2   |             |         |         |



CHART 2

EDMONTON CENTRE--CENSUS TRACTS





two blocks to 84th Street instead of 82nd Street. However, this small overlap is of very little significance in comparison to the overall correspondence of the rest of the data. The significance of this correspondence is that we can describe the socio-economic characteristics of the constituency using the tract-by-tract data available from the 1961 census dealing with Metropolitan Edmonton. Other studies<sup>4</sup> have used the same data but not in the same manner and for different purposes.

The total population of the constituency in 1961 was 83,318. This is a rapidly growing constituency--since 1956 the population had grown by 6.4%. The fastest growing areas are in the northern parts of tracts 35 and 1, Wellington, Kensington and Rosslyn areas--north of 129th Avenue. The population of tract 35 increased between 1956 and 1961 by 383.5% (from 2,809 to 13,583) and in tract 1 it nearly doubled. In the rest of the constituency the population either declined or remained constant. It seems that there is an outward movement from the centre of the city to the outskirts. A description of the type of housing (see pp. 22-23) makes this quite clear.

The number and proportion of males to females is about one to one--42,303 males and 41,015 females. There

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<sup>4</sup>G. Kupfer, Edmonton Study--Community Opportunity Assessment (Edmonton: Human Resources Research and Development, 1967).



are no significant differences in this proportion over the different age groups or in the distribution over the constituency.<sup>5</sup> Since we are more interested in those eligible to vote it is interesting to note that the survey carried out by the Department of Political Science at the University of Alberta,<sup>6</sup> just prior to the election, showed that the biggest age group of voters was that from 21 to 25 years old; they comprised 13.7% of the electorate. Those under 35 comprised 36.3% of the sample. This is important to bear in mind especially when we consider the appeal of Trudeau to the young.

Voting studies<sup>7</sup> never tire of pointing out that socio-economic status, ethnicity, religion, and education "mould" the electorate's behaviour. We shall examine these in relation to Edmonton Centre.

The average wage and salary income (obtained by dividing aggregate earnings of wage earners by the number of wage earners) in the constituency was in 1961 \$3,583 for males and \$2,026 for females. The overall average wage and salary income per person was \$2,804. This in comparison to the average wage and salary income per person over the

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<sup>5</sup>Canada, Census, op. cit., pp. 4-9.

<sup>6</sup>"The Edmonton Centre Election Study" consisted of 350 sample survey questionnaires sent out in three waves--two prior to the election, one after. From now on referred to as the Election Study.

<sup>7</sup>See S. M. Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (New York: Anchor Books, 1960), Chapters 7 and 9.





Metropolitan Edmonton area, \$3,057, points out that the constituency as a whole falls in a "lower" socio-economic background than the adjoining constituencies. The average wage and salary income per person in census tracts 15 and 39 is the lowest in the whole city, \$1,890 and \$2,350. This area includes the old and poverty-stricken area of Boyle Street as well as the concentration of Italians known as "Little Italy". Another low-income area in the constituency is the "Walterdale Flats" which stretch across Census Tracts 19 and 20 along the Saskatchewan River from around 105th Street in the west to 82nd Street in the east and Dawson Bridge in the north. The Election Study has not yet completed the comparative income figure for the whole constituency but the average income of a family that was on the voters' roll it found in 1968 to be about \$6,634.

The largest ethnic group is from the British Isles which comprise 41.7% of the population of the constituency. In Tracts 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 14, 19 and 35 this group consists of more than 50% of their respective populations. The Ukrainians comprise 13.4% of the population and are scattered quite evenly across the constituency. Germans make up 10% of the constituency, French 8% and other Europeans 7%. The constituency has small percentages of nearly every other ethnic group--Italian (highest concentration in Tract 39)<sup>8</sup>, Dutch, Polish, Russian,

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<sup>8</sup>Census, op. cit., p. 7.





Scandinavian, and Asiatics.<sup>9</sup>

To the question on ethnicity in the Election Study: "Do you consider yourself as belonging to any particular ethnic or national group?"<sup>10</sup> an overwhelming majority (81.14%) answered that they did not belong to any particular ethnic group. We propose four reasons for the difference between the census information and that of the Election Study. First, the Election Study question may not have been put as clearly and forcefully as it should have been. Secondly, the respondents may have been very "touchy" about their ethnicity. In the past year there had been a great deal of debate in the country concerning bilingualism, relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada, and riots and assassinations in the United States which were all well publicised on television, radio, and newspapers. The respondents may have felt that they should not exacerbate the situation by "dividing the country". Thirdly, it is a possibility that the respondents are beginning to think of themselves as "Canadians" rather than belonging to any specific ethnic group. However, we must rule this explanation out as only 3.42% described their ethnic background as Canadian. The fourth reason may have been the entry of two "ethnic" candidates, Mr. Hawrelak

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 4-7.

<sup>10</sup>Question 68.



and Mr. Paproski, in addition to the two "Anglo-Saxons". The respondents may have felt that ethnicity might be used to link them with the candidates and therefore decided to opt out for the "none" category. More research is necessary in order to clarify the real position.

Religion and ethnicity are usually linked together. The Census shows that 29.1% of the population in Edmonton Centre were Roman Catholics while 37.3% belonged to the United Church and 10.6% to the Church of England. If the latter two are taken together we find that in virtually all the tracts they are the largest group (similar to ethnicity, p. 17). Proportionately, within the Census Tracts the largest concentration of Roman Catholics is in Tracts 39, 35 and 15. In the latter Roman Catholics are about 50%. Over the whole constituency Lutherans comprised 7.4% while 6.4% belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church and 4.4% to Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic.

The Election Study found the proportion of Roman Catholics to be 25.2%, United Church 17.15%, Anglicans 8.57%, and Orthodox Greeks 6%. The Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic group was not large enough to generalize from. One very surprising result of the Study was the large proportion of respondents who stated that they were not members of any particular church or religion--25.4%. This difference may arise from the way the question was formed or that the electorate as a whole is becoming less



religious. Once again there is need for further research in this area.

The Census points out that 45.87% of the population in Edmonton Centre did not have any formal school education. This was the largest category in Tract 35. 21.32% of the population of Edmonton Centre had elementary education of one or more years while 12.56% of the population had high school education from one to two years, and 16.54% had high school education from three to five years. 3.72% of the population of Edmonton Centre had University education for one or more years. The Election Study showed only 2.58% (9 cases out of 348) that had no schooling. The bulk of the respondents (238 out of 348)--around 68%--possessed education of between 8 to 12 years. Once again, either there has been a marked increase in education in the last few years or that "education consciousness" has led the respondents to state a higher degree of formal education than they in actual "academic" sense possess, or the population has changed greatly.

Edmonton Centre is an urban constituency. The occupation of the population will partly depend on the type of industries that provide employment. The railway tracks we notice cut right across the constituency. Along the railway tracks in the Calder area there is a concentration of a generation of workers with connections with the railway. Similarly downtown in Census Tract 39 we would expect





the railway to provide employment. Census Tract 4 is virtually all covered by the Industrial Airport. The northern area of Tracts 1 and 35 as well as the area west of 127th Street in Tracts 3, 8 and 13 are mainly residential and the people are mainly upper and middle class. Jasper Avenue, the main business area, shopping centre, and the main location of government offices, runs across Census Tracts 19 and 20. The constituency also contains most of the city hospitals. The Misericordia and the General are in Tract 19, the Royal Alexandra and Norwood hospitals are in Tracts 14 and 9. The Charles Camshell Hospital is in Tract 8. The constituency as a whole does not possess heavy industries but small businesses, warehouses, dairies, breweries, bakeries, and soft drink manufacturers.

The above description however does not give us the main occupations of the populace. We will rely mainly on the Election Study for this rather than the Census. The main reason is that the survey "catches" the housewives as well as permits us to use the Bronson and Beck<sup>11</sup> classification based on the types of occupations stated on the voters' list.

Wage earners, representing the categories clerical,

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<sup>11</sup>H. E. Bronson and R. G. Beck, "An Occupational Analysis of Urban Voting Behaviour: The 1967 Saskatchewan Provincial Election" (Saskatoon: Department of Economics and Political Science [mimeo.], 1968), pp. 6-8.





transport, labour, and craftsmen, made up 28.15% of the electorate. The latter two together are just under a third of the wage earners. This seems to correspond with the Census figures where nearly every tract had the craftsman as the largest category. The next biggest group is the housewives (27.03%). Professional salaried (engineer, architect, education and health) comprise 11.42% of the electorate while professional non-salaried (secretarial, sales, technical, managerial, government, and supervisory) engaged 13.7% of the electorate. The "other" category (retired, not employed, student, widow and housekeeper) occupied 14.55% of the electorate. Retired was the largest category. The professional self-employed formed only 4.15% of the electorate.

The housing conditions in Edmonton Centre vary considerably. Two centres of very rapid development are the northern outskirts and the downtown area. The dwellings in the northern area of Tracts 35 and 1 are mainly single detached and we surmise mainly owner-occupied. Tract 35 consists of 2,416 single detached dwellings and only 479 small apartments. Tract 1 similarly contains 1,440 single detached dwellings and 222 apartments.

As one approaches the city centre and eastwards the proportion of apartments to houses increases. Census Tract 19 bordered by the Saskatchewan River in the south and the Canadian National tracks in the north had 3,016



apartments as compared to 634 single dwellings and Tract 39 had double the number of apartments in comparison to detached dwellings. Since 1961 there has been a very rapid development of apartment houses mainly around the centre of the city and between Jasper Avenue and the river in the south. Some large apartment units (i.e., over 300 units) that have developed since 1961 include the Avord Arms, Bristol Towers, Regency, Rochelle House and Oliver Place. Middle sized apartments (i.e., around 200 units) that have sprung up since 1961 include the Columbian Apartments, Hillside Manor, Colonial House, Carleton Towers and Douglas Towers. In addition a host of smaller apartments have sprung up all over the constituency. The net result of this rapid growth is that the constituency is rapidly growing in the number of people who live in and rent apartments. There does not seem to be any significant amount of "buying" apartments. Edmonton Centre is fast becoming "urbanized" and we expect this to be reflected in the voting patterns of the electorate.

In summary, the population of the constituency is rapidly growing both by immigration and reproduction. The outskirts of the constituency are growing faster than the rest, the proportion of the young is over a third and we expect it to remain so. The average income of the constituency is lower than that of the rest of the city and some of the poorest districts form part of the



constituency. The Anglo-Saxons form the largest ethnic group followed by Ukrainians, Germans, French, and a host of other nationalities. Roman Catholics are the largest religious group followed by United Church and the Church of England, with small percentages of Lutherans, Greek (Orthodox) and Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic. The Election Study raises the question of a change in people's attitudes towards religion and ethnicity which should be more thoroughly researched. The Election Study also shows that there has been a rise in literacy in the past few years--once again this should be further explored. The constituency has wage-earners as the largest "class" of workers, followed by housewives, professional salaried, professional non-salaried, others and self-employed. The housing of the population varied from single detached in the north to large apartments in the south, with the proportion of rented dwellings increasing rapidly.





### CHAPTER III

#### THE NOMINATION

The nomination of parliamentary candidates is one of the most important processes of democracy. It narrows down the election day choice of candidates.<sup>1</sup> In a competitive system this narrowing down facilitates political recruitment while in a semi-competitive system (like West Germany) it may encourage the growth of extra-parliamentary opposition groups.<sup>2</sup>

Scarrow<sup>3</sup> has observed that the formal nomination process at the constituency level has been reduced due to the operation of "natural selectors", long periods of party tenure and automatic renomination. Further he observed that there is keen competition in the absence or modification of the two latter conditions. We shall examine these in the context of Edmonton Centre.

Natural selectors are always in action in a democracy preventing many capable men from being recruited as

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<sup>1</sup>See F. C. Engelmann and M. A. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp. 162-3.

<sup>2</sup>For a good description of the activities of these groups in Germany see "The Cult of Violence," in Encounter, May, 1969, pp. 26-35.

<sup>3</sup>H. A. Scarrow, "Three Dimensions of a Local Political Party," in Meisel, loc. cit., p. 53.





candidates. They include societal values which tend to encourage political activism among the middle and professional classes<sup>4</sup> while leaving two-thirds of the electorate "apathetic"<sup>5</sup> and the stigma of being a loser where there is little chance of success. In addition, economic factors such as loss of income during the campaign period, sufficient minimal personal funds for sustaining a campaign and psychological factors such as personal family problems reinforce the aforementioned tendencies. However, as G. R. Davy suggested, this state of affairs exists not only in the area of political recruitment but also "in the courts of law, universities and everywhere else in a democracy."<sup>6</sup> We should try to bring about measures that reduce it.

These natural selectors partly explain the paucity of nominees for candidacy on behalf of the Social Credit and New Democratic parties. The Social Credit party at an early stage of the campaign made it clear that it would not contest all Federal constituencies but would leave it to the discretion of each individual constituency association to determine whether or not it would nominate a candidate.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>A. Kornberg et al., "Some Differences in Political Socialisation Patterns of American and Canadian Party Officials--A Preliminary Report," Canadian Journal of Political Science, II (March, 1969), No. 1, p. 71.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>6</sup>G. R. Davy, "Dimension" (CBC-TV Programme), 10.30 p.m., 29th April, 1968.

<sup>7</sup>See Press Statement on 1st May, 1968 in Appendix I.



The Social Credit League urged its members, in cases where no Social Credit candidates ran, to support candidates who subscribed to the principles and policies of the Alberta Social Credit Movement.

The author interviewed Mr. Orvis Kennedy, the President of the Social Credit League,<sup>8</sup> in connection with his party's decision not to field candidates. Mr. Kennedy saw the positive purposes of running a candidate as generally being the wish of the constituency to fight for a team and to form a government. The negative reasons for running a candidate were to fill in a seat, "to muddy the waters", to keep the vote away from another man, and to win. If the chances of success are slim then it may be more fruitful in the long term interest of the party to conserve its energy, money and organisation as well as to save face by not fielding candidates. The latter was the main reason for the action of the Social Credit party. Furthermore, the party, according to Mr. Kennedy, saw no relevant issues to fight an election on. The only issue which it saw publicised was whether Trudeau was to be the Prime Minister or Stanfield; these "issues" were not what Social Credit wanted to run on.<sup>9</sup>

Mr. F. Sinclair, the President of Edmonton Centre

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<sup>8</sup>March 18, 1968, at the Social Credit League Offices.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.



Federal Constituency Association (the officials of the Provincial Constituency Associations "double up" for the Federal ones--there is no separate organisation) generally concurred with Mr. Kennedy's views. His rationale for not running a candidate in the constituency was that "it costs money and Social Credit is short of funds and it is not so strong in Federal elections, therefore it is a waste of money to put a candidate."<sup>10</sup> Personally, Mr. Sinclair wanted to field a Social Credit candidate but the rest of the executive overruled him. To the author's question whether Mr. Manning's book, Political Realignment, and the advocacy of "social conservatism" had any effect on the decision not to field candidates, Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Sinclair held divergent views. The latter frankly stated, "Mr. Manning's book did more harm than good and advocated coalition government."<sup>11</sup> Mr. Kennedy on the other hand felt that it had "nothing to do with political realignment but a candidate had the opportunity of picking up on the principles that Social Credit could endorse--the Social Conservative concept and a realignment of political thinking--not parties."<sup>12</sup>

Edmonton Centre was a new constituency created from the redistribution based on the 1961 population census

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<sup>10</sup> Interview, April 18, 1968.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Interview, op. cit.





and consisted of parts of the old Edmonton West and Edmonton East Federal constituencies. Due to this "newness" problems of automatic renomination of an incumbent did not arise. Examining the history of Edmonton West since its creation in 1917, one observes that for thirty-two years (1925-1957) it was a Liberal stronghold.<sup>13</sup> Edmonton East on the other hand for the same period returned virtually alternating Liberal and Social Credit members.<sup>14</sup> Since the Diefenbaker sweep of 1957 both constituencies had been Conservative strongholds faithfully returning the same M.P.'s. This long period of party tenure is probably one factor carrying over a Conservative tradition into the new constituency.

A third factor which led to keen competition for party nomination was the suddenness with which the election was called. It found many constituency associations in a disarray and this was the case in Edmonton Centre. Years of defeat in areas previously part of Edmonton West and Edmonton East constituencies had demoralised the Liberals whose constituency machinery had fallen into disuse. They had not only to revive a dormant constituency machinery but also to build a new one for a new constituency.<sup>15</sup> The

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<sup>13</sup>P. Normandin (ed.), Canadian Parliamentary Guide, (Ottawa: Pierre G. Normandin, 1967) p. 335.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 335.

<sup>15</sup>This arises from a discussion at Mr. Whitford's apartment, April 26, 1968. I was allowed to take notes.



Liberals adopted their constitution for the Federal Edmonton Centre constituency at an executive committee meeting held on 2nd January, 1968<sup>16</sup> which was just less than a year after the Progressive Conservatives had adopted theirs. The Progressive Conservatives were better organised. At the creation of the new riding, both the "old" Edmonton East and West branches had lent support in organising the Edmonton Centre branch--even to the extent of giving financial help.<sup>17</sup>

One importance of the disarray created by the suddenness with which the election was called was that many people who ordinarily would not have considered entering the nomination race saw a greater possibility of success and also gave the local associations a greater leeway in the choice of their candidates since "Ottawa" had very little time to recommend its choice. In any case, "Ottawa" would have done very little to influence the choice of the constituency associations.<sup>18</sup>

The nomination process and the forces behind it have tended to be presented by students chronologically in a "jumbled" fashion which includes bits and pieces of

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<sup>16</sup>See the letter to Mr. Whitford from Mr. Maclean in Appendix II.

<sup>17</sup>Allegedly \$500, mentioned in minutes read at Edmonton West (P.C.) nominating convention 7th May, 1968, at The Canadian Legion.

<sup>18</sup>See Engelmann and Schwartz, op. cit., pp.163-167.



events. Dennis Smith and Scarrow<sup>19</sup> both indulge in this type of approach. Perhaps this is inevitable because of the numerous events and people that are involved in the nomination process. Brian Land<sup>20</sup> divides the nomination process into: 1) the search for a candidate; 2) the development of a two-way fight; and 3) the nominating meeting. Perhaps the most precise division of the nominating process of candidates is that of Janosik.<sup>21</sup> He divides the nominating process into: 1) preliminaries of selection process, which is sub-divided into decision to contest, nominations, number of nominees, validation and short-listing; and 2) the selection conference, which is sub-divided into lobbying before the selection conference and balloting procedure at selection conferences.

Janosik's categories are not used in our study because of the lack of material to fill in his categories as well as the lack of comparability of parties. The nominating process with which he was concerned was that of British Labour Party constituencies. The structure and the history of the Labour Party is very different from that of the Canadian parties and therefore we cannot

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<sup>19</sup>Meisel, op. cit., pp. 53-74.

<sup>20</sup>B. Land, Eglinton--The Election Study of a Federal Constituency (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1965), pp. 13-18.

<sup>21</sup>E. G. Janosik, Constituency Labour Parties in Britain (London: Pall Mall Press, 1968), pp. 113-125.





easily transfer Janosik's categories to the Canadian scene. However, in order to attain greater precision we will divide the nomination process into: 1) the pre-nomination activities; and 2) the actual nomination convention itself.

#### 1. Pre-nomination Activities

It was not possible due to lack of time and availability of manpower to keep close tabs on the activities of all the candidates. We will therefore for practical purposes concentrate on Mr. Whitford whose campaign manager, Mr. L. Fisk, was my colleague and was able to keep track of Mr. Whitford and try to bring in activities of other candidates. Some questions which we try to answer concern the making of the decision to contest the nomination, the existence of any pressure from "above" to run or not, the reporting of meetings held by the candidates and the devising of strategy to win the nomination.

Rumours among the Liberal members at the end of April indicated that Bob Russell, James Whitford and Russell Dzenick were going to contest the nomination.<sup>22</sup> Donald Gray officially announced his candidacy on the 2nd of May.<sup>23</sup> The figure of Mr. Hawrelak was always in the background like a colossus. Some people suspected that he

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<sup>22</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 2, 1968, p. 36.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 36.





would enter the race while others doubted it. Eaton Howitt wrote on the 4th of May, "It begins to look as though former Mayor Bill Hawrelak will not be a candidate for the nomination. He lacks solid support from the Liberal Party itself, although the riding contains such areas as Calder where he has been the people's choice."<sup>24</sup> The Albertan wrote, "Former Mayor Hawrelak had not quite decided to run for Liberal nomination as late as the ninth of May. However he said that if he does decide to run it will be in Edmonton Centre."<sup>25</sup> On the same day a former Alderman, Gordon McClary, announced that he would seek the Liberal nomination for the Edmonton Centre constituency.<sup>26</sup> Mr. Hawrelak was the last of the Liberal candidates to announce that he would contest the nomination. Five days before the convention on the 11th of May he made his official entry by making a statement to that effect.<sup>27</sup>

The Conservative members had raised the issue of nomination as early as a year before the election was announced. Mr. Jack Jewel was the first to consider contesting the nomination. As early as August 1967 he tabled a motion at a general meeting to call a nomination meeting but this motion was defeated by a few votes. Mr.

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<sup>24</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 4, 1968, p. 15.

<sup>25</sup>Albertan (Calgary), May 9, 1968, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 10, 1968, p. 10.

<sup>27</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 11, 1968, p. 3.



Jack Jewel, when the election was called, entered his name the earliest. He was followed by Steve Paproski, Tom Chambers and Bill Yurko, who announced their intention to contest at about the same time.<sup>28</sup>

The New Democratic Party was the earliest to announce its nominating convention and to select a candidate. The convention was held on the 27th of April, selecting Dr. Norman Dolman. He had no rivals.

Both the Conservative and Liberal parties had held leadership conventions at the national level earlier in the year electing Mr. Stanfield and Mr. Trudeau as the new leaders. Mr. Whitford decided to enter politics after being impressed by Mr. Trudeau. Until then he did not belong to any particular party nor was he a member of one. He saw himself as a "swinger" and as someone who could identify with Trudeau's "Just Society" and achieve improvement in the society.<sup>29</sup> This was the first time that he was making a public political commitment. It seems that many Liberal candidates felt similarly. Mr. Gordon McClary "decided to run in June 25th Federal Election after watching Pierre Trudeau during and after the leadership convention in Ottawa."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 4, 1968, p. 15.

<sup>29</sup>Tape recorded interview with Mr. L. Fisk, April 30, 1968.

<sup>30</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 10, 1968, p. 10.



Mr. Whitford held a meeting on Friday, April 26th at 4 p.m. in his apartment located in the downtown area.<sup>31</sup> The main object of the meeting was to find out what some of his close friends felt and to sound out their opinions. Ten people were present at the meeting including Mr. Larry Fisk, who unofficially acted as his campaign manager, the constituency chairman, a prominent member of the local CBC-TV network and some of Mr. Whitford's colleagues.

The first problems discussed by the meeting were whether Mr. Whitford should become a contestant in the nomination race and whether he had any chance of success. Using socio-economic data from the 1961 census, Mr. Whitford worked out the "ethnic" composition of the population of the four Edmonton Federal constituencies. Mr. Hawrelak was mentioned a few times and was seen as the chief rival who would be able to win a sizeable proportion of the Ukrainian votes. However, since the proportion of non-Ukrainians was far greater than that of Ukrainians Mr. Whitford felt that his chances of success were reasonable. The final decision to run as a nomination contestant was taken because the meeting felt that the rival candidates, Bob Russell and William Hawrelak, were similar in their outlook and were very different from Mr. Whitford.

The next problem was where to run so that Mr.

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<sup>31</sup>The author attended the meeting and took notes.





Whitford's chances would be maximised. The meeting reached the conclusion that Edmonton Strathcona had been "sewn up" by Mr. Sinclair, who was supposed to have been working in that constituency months before the election was announced. Edmonton East was ruled out because of the high proportion of Ukrainians and because Mr. Whitford was relatively unknown there. Edmonton West was eliminated because of the strong showing of Mr. Marcel Lambert in the past and because the Liberal "machine" there had not been in operation for years, except for sending two delegates to the leadership convention earlier in the year.

Edmonton Centre was seen as the constituency where Mr. Whitford's chances were the best. He worked and lived there and had many friends. Since Mr. Whitford was the Director of the Provincial Community Development Branch, he saw himself representing the poor and dispossessed in Edmonton Centre. An Indian lady at the meeting at this point supported Mr. Whitford and added that he would be acceptable to her people. The meeting next touched fleetingly on a variety of subjects ranging from the rules of the nominating convention, the type of balloting, to relations with mass media. Various people were assigned to obtain information on these topics, and the meeting broke up.

Mr. Whitford held another meeting on the 29th of



April, 8 p.m. at St. Joseph's College.<sup>32</sup> It was a small gathering of around twenty-five people. There were two quite distinct groups at the meeting: one consisted of a group of "apolitical" nurses and the other of eager motivated campus Liberals. A nurse friend of Mr. Whitford's from the Royal Alexandra Hospital had taken upon herself to bring as many colleagues and friends as possible to the meeting. The total strength of campus Liberals was one hundred and twenty-nine but, due to examination pressures, only six attended the meeting, including two members of the executive. Most of the campus Liberals had no prior experience in election campaigns and had been members for only a year or less.

Mr. Whitford handed out a sheet of paper to the members of the meeting giving a brief outline of his background and a statement of his "beliefs" without going into specific policies and issues. He urged the meeting to work hard. He alleged that Mr. Hawrelak had been working since last November while Bob Russell, the other opponent, had previous experience in St. Albert. He himself had just entered the race, so that it was necessary to do everything one could. In order to win the nomination it was necessary to obtain the support of at least five hundred members. The meeting had only twelve days to reach this target.

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<sup>32</sup>I attended the meeting and took notes.



Mr. Whitford illustrated on a blackboard a four pronged attack as the means for achieving this support: personal contact, phoning, canvassing and coffee parties. For the nominating convention he suggested a lot of placards, noise and colour. The purpose was "not to sway people to vote but the razzmatazz is to symbolise the organisation that has been built up and is united."<sup>33</sup> In addition he suggested a car pool for the nominating convention.

Mr. Whitford then advocated selling memberships by the members at large. He estimated that the constituency had around 40,000 eligible voters. If the turnout was around 60%, 26,000 to 29,000 would vote. He reasoned that if the two smaller parties--N.D.P. and Social Credit--had around 3,000 committed hard core supporters, the larger two parties would fight for the 20,000 votes.

The meeting at St. Joseph's was not very successful. As we said there were two distinctly different groups, the nurses and the campus Liberals. "One nurse, who had brought a group of nurses to the meeting, suddenly lost her enthusiasm when policy questions were being asked. She suddenly felt that she was out in the cold as far as policies were concerned and how could she support someone when she knew nothing about politics. She was turned off

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<sup>33</sup> Author's notes at the meeting.





completely. Our problem was that we had brought two entirely different groups together."<sup>34</sup> Mr. Whitford was, from now on, careful not to "antagonise" diverse groups such as nurses and campus Liberals by bringing them together in one meeting but to meet them separately on their own home grounds.

A campus Liberal asked Mr. Whitford where he stood on some of the major issues such as the French-Canadian question and Canada's foreign policy. His reply was that he refused to say what exactly his stand was and that once nominated he would reveal his policy. He added, "However, by and large I agree more with Trudeau than disagree." I questioned Mr. Fisk, his campaign manager, regarding this evasiveness. His reply was, "In seeking a nomination, as important as policy is, your first object is to get that large bloc of votes at the convention. Discussion of policies is down on the list of priorities because you can spend a lot of time talking about it and researching it but you have only a few days to get the voters."<sup>35</sup>

On Sunday, April 28th, Mr. Whitford called a meeting at his apartment of around twenty friends.<sup>36</sup> They were very enthusiastic in their work and not afraid to get involved. They took membership books to sell and filled in

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<sup>34</sup>Tape recorded interview with Mr. L. Fisk, April 30th, 1968.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.





questionnaires by telephoning Liberal members with a view to finding out the popularity of Liberal candidates. This meeting was more successful compared with the meeting at St. Joseph's College.

I asked Mr. Fisk the question, which is of perennial interest to students of politics, whether there were any "direction" from the Liberal Party in supporting Mr. Whitford.<sup>37</sup> He replied that Dave Maclean, the President of Edmonton Centre Federal Constituency, was happy to see that someone was running against Mr. Hawrelak. Mr. Maccagno, the Provincial leader of the party also encouraged Whitford and made it clear that he was opposed to Mr. Hawrelak because of his disreputable record while Mayor. Mr. Maccagno could not do very much except give moral support. To have come out publicly on a candidate's side would have meant that the Provincial leader was taking sides. It is clear here that Mr. Whitford decided to contest the nomination on his own and that it was he who approached the party hierarchy. The case of Mr. Gordon McClary, another Liberal candidate, was different. He was contacted by party officials. "Liberal officials approached him to run in Edmonton East where he resided until last year and later asked him to run in the new riding of Edmonton Centre."<sup>38</sup> Mr. Hawrelak was certainly known to

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 10, 1968, p. 10.



Liberal officials, as he had been Mayor and been involved in two cases of "impropriety" while Mayor and "had been at odds with the 'ins'"<sup>39</sup> since a bitter fight over the Liberal candidacy in Edmonton East in 1957. He lost the constituency to a Social Crediter by a narrow margin. The Liberal Party officials, headed by Senator Hastings, had made it known without actually saying so that they did not wish Mr. Hawrelak to run as a Liberal candidate and would oppose him.<sup>40</sup> Mr. Hawrelak ran for the nomination despite opposition from party officials.

The Conservative party's approach to finding candidates was more disciplined and organised. A nominating committee of three was formed by the Federal Edmonton Centre Constituency organisation with Mr. G. Amerongen, President, as the chairman.<sup>41</sup> It was the function of this committee to act as talent scouts to make sure that a candidate contested the nomination. Mr. T. Chambers had been active in the party during the 1957 provincial election and was well known to the officials. Mr. Amerongen learned that two others, Mr. S. Paproski and Mr. William Yurko, were also interested in the nomination. He approached each aspirant individually and had lunch interviewing them

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<sup>39</sup>J. Barr in Edmonton Journal, May 16, 1968, p. 4.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>41</sup>Telephone conversation with G. Amerongen, May 2, 1968.



and explaining the rules.<sup>42</sup> He explained, "Once the candidates were found, our job was done and the committee dissolved."<sup>43</sup>

What can we generalise from such a diverse data? We have the impression that the absence of Scarrow's two conditions--an incumbent and long period of party control--and the newness of the constituency and greater probability of success produced conditions which led to more candidates contesting the nomination than is "ordinarily" the case. The drop out rate was large because many recommended candidates suddenly find that there are many "other" candidates as well, so that by dropping out the party is not jeopardised by not fielding enough candidates.

Mr. Whitford and his colleagues, in order to find out his and the other candidates' popularity, conducted a telephone survey of Liberal members on the 30th of April.<sup>44</sup> Three hundred names from the list of paid up Liberal members of Edmonton Centre was the basis of the "census". Only sixty-nine replies were obtained and many of them were incomplete. Thus 23% of the members were dealt with. This poor response may be attributed partly to the reluctance of people to answer questions on the phone.

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>From Dr. N. S. Chi, Department of Political Science, Queen's University, Kingston.





From the point of view of the candidates, questions 4 and 5 were most important. Question 4 asked, "Do you know--J. Whitford, Bob Russell and Bill Hawrelak?" (in that order). Three persons answered that they knew J. Whitford, compared with thirteen for Bob Russell and fifty-five for Bill Hawrelak. Sixty-two said that they did not know Jim Whitford compared with thirty-nine for Bob Russell and five for Bill Hawrelak. Four said that they knew Jim Whitford very well while seventeen knew Bob Russell very well and nine Bill Hawrelak.

To the question, "What do you think of Jim Whitford, Bob Russell and Bill Hawrelak?" there was a large variety of answers. Seven people answered that they did not know what to think of Jim Whitford, while two replied favourably (had high opinion of) and two were neutral (have seen him!). There was one unfavourable reply--the chances of success of the Liberal Party would be cut down. Robert Russell received ten favourable comments as a candidate and man. Seven answers were neutral and don't knows. Three opinions were unfavourable while two were very favourable. William Hawrelak received twenty-six comments which were favourable to him, including such comments as "good man", "good politician" and "good mayor and businessman". He received six very favourable replies which included such comments as "very good", "has tremendous support" and "good speaker". Nine replies were very unfavourable to Mr. Hawrelak and



included such comments as that the respondent "would leave the Liberal Party if Mr. Hawrelak won the nomination" and "a very bad record". Three comments were neutral and two unfavourable. The conclusion that one could make from these data is that by far the best known candidate was Mr. Hawrelak: over 65% of the persons answering had heard of him and just under 50% were favourable to him. The other two candidates did not reach anywhere near his popularity.

Despite these findings Mr. Whitford was determined to continue working hard and to try to win the nomination. He tried to obtain entry into institutions such as nurses' residences<sup>45</sup> but this approach failed dismally. The nurses' superintendents who were approached rejected outright the idea of Mr. Whitford's meeting their staff and talking to them. They argued that if Mr. Whitford was allowed to address the nurses then all other candidates should also be allowed the same privilege. However, this privilege could not be given to all the candidates because this might affect the nurses' "routine". Other candidates did manage to obtain entry to "institutions", not through the supervisory staff, but on an informal basis through friends and acquaintances who were working in the institution. Even at the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology Mr. Whitford's efforts met with rebuff.<sup>46</sup> He was not

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<sup>45</sup>Interview, 21st May, 1968 at 1721 Centennial Building.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.



allowed to address the students and the editor of the Students' Union newspaper was alleged to have said that his paper never printed any controversial material. By this stage of the campaign time was running out: the nominating convention was less than a week away. Mr. Whitford, therefore, decided to work closely with his friends and concentrate on door-to-door canvassing, mainly in the high-rise apartments and wherever else there might be a large concentration of people.

How did most of the candidates spend the week-end before the nominating convention? We have a full account of the Liberal candidates.<sup>47</sup> The week-end before the nominating convention was a very busy one. All the candidates were making frantic last-minute arrangements to better their positions and marshall all their forces. Most of the Liberal candidates did not meet Prime Minister Trudeau, who had flown to Edmonton to receive an honorary doctorate from the University of Alberta. Mr. Hawrelak was the only one to organise a formal political meeting. He met Italian-speaking residents at Santa Maria Goretti Church, 11040 - 90th Street.<sup>48</sup> Mr. Robert Russell spent most of his week-end on the telephone drumming up support for the nomination meeting and in talking in person to many

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<sup>47</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 13, 1968, p. 41.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 41.





Edmontonians. He also visited the Royal Alexandra Hospital to chat with nurses coming off shift. Mr. Don Gray spent a quiet week-end, mostly preparing his nomination speech and pouring tea at St. Mary's Boys Home Sunday. However, some of his campaign workers were constantly on the phone.<sup>49</sup> Mr. Gordon McClary was probably the least active candidate on Saturday and Sunday. Upset by the entry of Mr. Hawrelak into the race for nomination, Mr. McClary said he slowed down all his political activity until the Alberta Liberal Federation made a statement on the matter.<sup>50</sup>

The questions whether the Liberal Association should support, ignore, or oppose Mr. Hawrelak were discussed on Sunday the 12th of May at a high level Liberal policy meeting, but no statement was made.<sup>51</sup> This point was never really cleared up and during the campaign (after and before the nomination) it cropped up again and again--Mr. Hawrelak claiming Liberal Party support and others rejecting his claim.

## 2. The Nominating Conventions

In general, we will try to convey the overall atmosphere of the nominating conventions and in particular highlight certain areas like procedures, the background of

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 41.





candidates and hypotheses arising from the voting at the meetings. Two additional factors--a stolen ballot box--and the phenomenon of Mr. Hawrelak entering a convention despite opposition from the party hierarchy--make the Edmonton Centre conventions in some ways exceptional. The N.D.P. convention was held the earliest followed by Conservative and Liberal conventions.

New Democratic Party. The main difference between the N.D.P. convention and those of Liberals and Conservative parties was that the N.D.P. held one convention for all the candidates in the Edmonton area, while Liberals and Conservatives held separate nominating conventions for each constituency in Edmonton. The main reason for this was that the smallness of support for the N.D.P. in Alberta did not warrant holding separate nominating conventions for each constituency--increasing the costs.

The meeting was held in Calder Community Hall, 12721 - 120th Street, at 8 p.m. on 27th April.<sup>52</sup> A fund raising dinner was held before the meeting costing \$2.50 per plate. It was a modest meal consisting of cold meat, potato salad and mixed vegetables. One hundred and fifty people were present at the dinner. The nominating convention of the N.D.P. was an open affair, the only requirement to enter being membership which one could buy at the

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<sup>52</sup>The author attended the convention and took notes.



door. There was to our knowledge no instance of a person's being turned away. The rules and procedures for the meeting concerning plurality of votes were left to the chairman and the meeting at large. The convention was quite orderly and no incidents concerning procedural and constitutional problems arose.

Neil Reimer, the Provincial leader, addressed the meeting and apologised for the absence of David Lewis, the National Vice-President. Then Mr. Reimer proceeded to introduce the various constituency chairmen and members of the executive. George Holmes, Director of Canadian Labour Congress, gave a long speech which traced the history of the party in all the Provinces of Canada one by one and stressed the existence of economic disparity between various groups in Canada. He talked for far too long a period repeating the standard "old" slogans of depression years.

The only group that seemed to have been "overtly" organised was that led by Mr. Ken Novakowski. His supporters (mainly from the New Democratic Youth) distributed leaflets giving details of his achievements and organising activities, as well as stressing his youth and belief in socialism. Other candidates including the Edmonton Centre candidate, Dr. Norman Dolman, did not distribute their literature nor did their supporters carry banners.



The voting delegates were seated together at different tables depending on their constituency. In order to become a voting delegate one must be elected at properly called meetings of the local N.D.P. club or poll organisation, affiliated organisation or youth clubs.<sup>53</sup> Ten days' prior notice of a meeting is required. All members of Provincial Council and members of the Executive and Council of Federal wing residing in Alberta have delegate status.<sup>54</sup> Edmonton Centre constituency had seventeen voting delegates. Visitors were seated in an area apart from the delegates so that they would not participate in the proceedings.

The candidates for Pembina Constituency, N. Romanchuk, Edmonton West, Ken Kerr, Strathcona, Lawrence Radcliffe, as well as Edmonton Centre, Dr. Dolman, all won nominations by acclamation as they were unopposed. Dr. Dolman in his acceptance speech stressed his support of medicare and vehemently opposed its abandonment. He also took a strong stand on Vietnam and said that if elected he would try to do his best in stopping the war and getting the United States out of Vietnam. He suggested running a powerful and vigorous campaign against the Conservatives but ignoring the Liberals. The reason for this strategy was as follows: the Conservative candidate had run a very

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<sup>53</sup>See Article 4 in Constitution of The Alberta New Democratic Party, p. 10.

<sup>54</sup>Article 6, Sections 2 and 3.





strong second in the constituency during the Provincial elections of 1967 and the other two parties, when faced with an N.D.P. opposition, tended to withdraw in favour of one or the other.

The Edmonton East nomination was more colourful and exciting than the others. Two candidates were nominated--Mr. K. Novakowski and Mr. Roy Jamha. The former had risen through the youth wing of the party, while the latter had been associated with the trade union movement for a long time. Mr. Novakowski stressed the Vietnam war and Carter Commission Report, made a plea for a planned economy and played upon Canadian nationalism. Mr. Jamha opposed Bill C186, stressed medicare and rejected both Communism and capitalism while advocating the Social Democratic path. Both speakers were loudly applauded--the support for Mr. Novakowski coming from the N.D.Y. group in Strathcona constituency while the Jamha support came from trade unionists in Edmonton East. Mr. Jamha won the secret ballot, sixty-eight to thirty-nine and one spoilt. Mr. Novakowski made a speech supporting Mr. Jamha and urged his followers to do the same.

In comparison with the nominating conventions of other parties there was a marked absence of the mass media. There were no television cameras and there was no reporter. The party executive had informed the radio, T.V. and newspaper authorities. The only mention of the convention by



the media was the publication of names of the candidates.<sup>55</sup>

Progressive Conservative. The Progressive Conservative nominating convention was originally to be held at the Masonic Temple but was transferred to Alberta College Auditorium and commenced at 8.30 p.m. on 13th May. Concerning the convention the Progressive Conservative Edmonton Centre Federal Constituency Association constitution stipulates, "... the meeting shall be advertised at least seven days in advance in at least one daily and weekly newspaper having substantial circulation in the constituency."<sup>56</sup> This seems to have been carried out.<sup>57</sup>

The right to vote in the meeting was limited according to the constitution to residents and card-carrying members of the constituency<sup>58</sup> without any stipulation as to age. But according to the Constituency Association President, Gerard Amerongen, the voting was limited to members aged nineteen and over.<sup>59</sup> It is probable that the Executive, possessing discretionary powers, took the decision to impose the age limit.

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<sup>55</sup>Edmonton Journal, April 29, 1968, p. 6.

<sup>56</sup>See The Progressive Conservative Association of Edmonton Centre (Federal) Constitution, (6), p. 4.

<sup>57</sup>Edmonton Journal, April 30, 1968, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup>See The Constitution, para. 10(e), p. 4.

<sup>59</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 22, 1968, p. 3.



As early as 7 p.m. a long queue had grown outside the auditorium in which people waited patiently either to present their membership cards or to buy them at the door and collect the ballot papers. Organisers for both Mr. Paproski and Mr. Chambers milled outside the door handing out literature and ribbons to the people joining the queue. The incoming people were allowed to buy membership cards until the nomination speeches began.

The atmosphere inside the auditorium was one of excitement and chants such as "We want Paproski" or "Chambers for Edmonton" were frequently heard. Eventually the hall was filled with one thousand people. Banners were draped on both sides of the balcony. Observing the names on the placards it was quite clear that the meeting was split into two groups--Chambers supporters on the west and Paproski supporters on the east. Supporters of William Yurko were scant and were spread around among the others.

The constituency President, Gerard Amerongen, opened the meeting and the order of speaking of the candidates was determined by drawing lots. Mr. Paproski's name came up first followed by Mr. Chambers' and Mr. Yurko's. The three Edmonton Centre candidates had been introduced at the Edmonton East<sup>60</sup> and Edmonton West<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Held on 6th May at Bellevue Community Hall, 7308 - 112th Avenue.

<sup>61</sup>Held on 7th May at The Royal Canadian Legion Hall, 10220 - 156th Street.





nominating conventions. In reciprocity, Bill Skoreyko (candidate for Edmonton East) and Marcel Lambert (Edmonton West) were introduced to the audience. Then Alderman Cecil Purvis nominated Steve Paproski; Dr. D. Evans nominated W. J. Yurko; and Roy Watson nominated Tom Chambers.

Mr. Steve E. Paproski, 39, a sales manager of Polish and Ukrainian background had not been formally involved with any political party. It was only for this election that he had joined the Conservatives. He had been active in the community by participating in charitable organisations. He had been the chairman of United Community Fund (1967), President of Marian Centre, director of Council of Catholic Charities and of Marydale. He was a member of the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce and a director of the Banff School of Advanced Management.

Mr. Paproski in his acceptance speech mentioned ethnic background and stressed that he was raised and educated in the constituency; therefore, he knew the people. He emphasized that Canada was multi-cultural and that those who were neither French Canadians nor English Canadians should have their own representatives to preserve their cultural heritage. The Canadian Federal system was adequate to accommodate the minority cultures. The candidate hit out hard at the "charismatic" leadership of the Liberal Party and emphasized that Mr. Stanfield, the





Conservative leader, stood for stability and good management. He ended his speech by saying that the Liberals had made a mockery of parliament by not resigning after being defeated on a motion of confidence in February, 1968. Therefore the Conservatives should replace them.

Mr. Tom Chambers, 39, a petroleum engineer, of Anglo-Saxon background had been closely associated with the Conservative party. His pamphlet stated, "Tom, since early youth has always been a strong Conservative and has actively campaigned on behalf of the party continuously."<sup>62</sup> His role in the party included the First Vice-Presidency of Edmonton Centre Federal Conservative Association, executive membership of Provincial Conservative Association and chairmanship of Northern Alberta Progressive Conservatives. He had been the division manager for the Hon. Marcel Lambert, a delegate to the Alberta Provincial Convention and to the Federal Leadership Convention, as well as the campaign manager for Paul Norris, Edmonton Northwest Provincial Constituency. Besides these party positions, he belonged to the Y.M.C.A. and the usual professional organisations including Alberta Association of Professional Engineers and the Tourist Promotion section of the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Chambers in his speech asserted that an M.P.

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<sup>62</sup> Pamphlet issued by his campaign committee.



should be dedicated to his people and hard working. He stressed the importance of the oil industry in Alberta and saw himself as being the spokesman of petroleum interests in Ottawa. In terms of specific issues he blamed the Liberals for "the second highest rate of interest in the world, inflation and reduction in the value of the Canadian dollar."<sup>63</sup> He blamed the Liberals for the shortage of housing across Canada and called for greater economic efficiency.

Mr. William Yurko, a consulting engineer, of Rumanian background had joined the party recently. His work had taken him to Northern Ontario, New York and Arizona. Mr. Yurko was by far the best speaker and his speech was called "the best speech of the night."<sup>64</sup> Mr. Yurko condemned separatism of the "Eastern kind" (Eastern Provinces) as well as that of the "Western kind" and argued for a "Canadian" identity.<sup>65</sup> He argued for a Conservative brand of stability, which he saw, not as stagnation but as "Conservatism constantly updated,"<sup>66</sup> with constant technological change and the growth of new ideas.

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<sup>63</sup>The author's notes.

<sup>64</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 14, 1968, p. 2.

<sup>65</sup>W. J. Yurko, Speech to the May 13, 1968, Progressive Conservative Convention, p. 2.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 5.



Mr. Yurko defined Conservatism as "an integrity of spirit and orderly expansion of conscience . . . the opposite to individual or mass recklessness. Modern Conservatism is freedom of thought coupled with restrained action . . . which does not subject the social environment to constant instability and anxiety. Action which is based on faith and realisation that materialistic wealth is only a re-arrangement and redistribution of the things of nature. A realisation that real wealth lies in a nation's people, their character, their courage and their ingenuity."<sup>67</sup>

In order to "operationalise" his philosophic concept of Conservatism, Mr. Yurko added, that his kind of Conservatism was "grounded in the stability of our institutions, the integrity of the family unit and the character of our individuality." He saw the stability of the institutions retained by making use of the most modern technological devices to transmit "their message in overpowering competition with the corrupting elements."<sup>68</sup>

Mr. Yurko urged that the family be retained as a unit, while he recognised the need for family planning. He linked housing with family unit with the result that "those agencies engaged in home-building must be recognised as one of the highest professions with justifiable and

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 5.





equitable compensation."<sup>69</sup>

In order to improve the character of individuals he suggested, "We must destroy the rationale that tolerates poverty in the midst of plenty . . . we must find and cherish an individualism based on concern and on compassion, on awareness and on dedication, on gentleness and on faith."<sup>70</sup>

After these speeches the vote was taken to elect the Conservative candidate. "Scrutineers" with ballot boxes walked along the aisles collecting ballots from the members. On the first vote Mr. Paproski obtained 396 votes, Mr. Chambers 330 and Mr. Yurko 104. In order to win on the first ballot a candidate needed over half of the total votes cast, at least 416. When none of the candidates obtains this number, the constitution<sup>71</sup> stipulates that the candidate with the lowest vote be eliminated until a candidate is elected with an absolute majority. Mr. Yurko withdrew.

Voting on the second ballot was half-finished when the constituency President called a hasty meeting on the platform and announced that a ballot box had disappeared--there were twelve boxes and one was missing. The President

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>71</sup>See The Progressive Conservative Association of Edmonton Centre (Federal) Constitution, para. 10 d (3), p. 4.



told the meeting that at the time that the ballot box had disappeared there were "young people" at the entrance with stickers belonging to another party.<sup>72</sup> However when he was told to elaborate, he refused to name or identify the "other party". The President then reiterated that he was convinced that no supporters of either contender took the box and that he had "no doubt that someone from outside got away with it."<sup>73</sup>

After consulting with the two candidates, Mr. Amerongen announced to the meeting that both Mr. Chambers and Mr. Paproski were prepared to accept the results of the vote excluding the missing ballot box. I believe that it would have been more convincing to the audience if both candidates themselves had announced individually that they would accept the result. The President's announcement sounded as if he had pleaded with the candidates to agree to go on with the balloting to avoid holding another nominating convention.

The final count was announced, 353 votes for Mr. Chambers, 347 for Mr. Paproski, and 3 ballots spoilt. The needed majority was 352 and Mr. Chambers was declared the official candidate. At the announcement the meeting erupted into a pandemonium. Shouts of "crooked" and "fixed"

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<sup>72</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 14, 1968, p. 2.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 2.



were hurled at the executive and officials. Supporters from Mr. Paproski's side of the auditorium tore up membership cards and shouted up at the podium as Marcel Lambert, M.P. of Edmonton West, told the meeting that it was a fair contest between "sporting types". "Did you hand out ballot boxes to any jerk that came along?" shouted one man as several others handed back torn-up membership cards to reluctant constituency officials.

The reaction of Mr. Chamber's campaign manager, Robert Giffin, was that he was pleased with the victory but "most unhappy about the circumstances."<sup>74</sup> Mr. Paproski's reaction was to leave the meeting after the announcement saying that he would leave the matter in the hands of the executive. The feeling of the majority of the people in the meeting was anger at the "mockery" of democracy. Clusters of people remained after the meeting was officially terminated arguing heatedly--"ethnic" against "non-ethnic" and young against old.

Constituency President, Gerard Amcrongen, said the next day that he would make a formal report of the meeting to the executive.<sup>75</sup> Meanwhile, on the same day, Mr. Paproski announced that he had sent a written statement to the constituency executive but he did not make a public statement.<sup>76</sup> The author of this study has tried to find

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<sup>74</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 14, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>75</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 15, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 1.





out what was said in the written statement--so far in vain. Perhaps this statement contained a clue to the missing ballot box and its contents. Mr. Chambers remained a candidate for one day and then rejected the nomination because he felt that "neither person had the right to accept a ballot that 'sorely bruised' the democratic process."<sup>77</sup>

The constituency executive decided to hold a rerun of the ill-fated second ballot on the 22nd of May, at the same place--Alberta College Auditorium. The executive took great pains to ensure that the rerun was as similar as possible to the original second vote. There were no speeches or demonstrations. The executive tried its best to ensure that only those that were eligible to vote at the first meeting voted again. A card file had been kept of names, addresses, telephone numbers and signatures of the 844 persons who had received ballots on the 13th of May. Photostatic copies of the cards were mailed on Saturday, the 16th of May, to the 844 persons who had received the ballot. To obtain a ballot these persons had to present the copy of the card, their membership card and their name and address and had to sign a signature for comparison.

The Constituency President said that no check was made by the card file to determine whether all the addresses

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<sup>77</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 23, 1968, p. 3.





were within the Edmonton Centre riding. "This was left to the scrutineers of both candidates,"<sup>78</sup> he said. This arrangement for a time created hopeless confusion surrounding the registration table. Persons seeking ballots lined up three and four deep at a special complaint desk while officials sorted out illegible names and missing notices and explained to persons that, if they weren't registered at the original meeting, they could not vote at this one.<sup>79</sup> The author of this study believes that, despite this confusion, the executive of the Conservative party had kept a record of the "voters" and managed to reproduce the rerun fairly.

This time Mr. Paproski won 337 to 279. He thanked his supporters in six different languages--Ukrainian, Polish, French, German, Italian and, lastly, English. There seemed to emerge from this vote an "ethnic" split--most Anglo-Saxon votes going to Tom Chambers and the "ethnic" vote going to Mr. Paproski. Both the Constituency President and William Yurko agreed with the author's observation. Mr. Yurko stated the reason for the split quite clearly. "The 'Continental' have been kept out of politics by the establishment. In the U.S. one's name or ethnic origin does not matter to such an extent since

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<sup>78</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 23, 1968, p. 3.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 3.



avenues for advancement are still provided. How many ethnic representatives does the Social Credit have? None. Avenues for a 'Continental' in the civil service, politics, etc., are very limited in Canada. Non-Anglo-Saxon Canadians are now becoming concerned and wish to participate in politics for themselves and influence the course of Canada."<sup>80</sup>

The same interview threw some light on the "relations" between candidates before the nomination and the intricacies between party hierarchy and candidates. Initially Mr. Yurko was asked to become a candidate by Mr. Giffin, Mr. Chambers' campaign manager. Mr. Yurko was initially running against Mr. Jewel and Mr. Paproski and expected to obtain Mr. Chambers' Anglo-Saxon followers, as well as some "ethnic" votes. However, instead of backing Mr. Yurko, Mr. Chambers decided to run himself, taking back most of his following.

Mr. Yurko managed to obtain 104 votes on the first ballot "which were mainly due to talking to people and spending fifteen to twenty minutes discussing with them." Mr. Yurko did not possess a "large organisation" as the other two candidates did, nor was he able to hire a bus to transport his supporters to the convention as did Mr. Paproski. Thus we guess that the Yurko supporters were

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<sup>80</sup> Interview with W. J. Yurko at his home, 12203 - 42nd Avenue, May 24th, 1968.



"won over" by conviction after having heard his ideas and therefore would not be "easily swayed" by the other candidates.

The total of votes cast on the first ballot was 830. If we subtract the total vote of the second ballot, assuming all who voted before did so again, 703, the missing ballot box contained 127 votes. In the second ballot Mr. Paproski's vote dropped by 49, 396 - 347, and Mr. Chambers increased by 23; therefore we can conclude that the missing ballot box contained mostly Paproski votes. The total vote in the rerun was 616, 87 less than the first second ballot.

The Liberals. The Liberal nominating convention was to be held at the Polish Hall,<sup>81</sup> 10960 - 104th Street, on 16th May, 1968. However, due to the large number of people expected to turn up, the meeting was transferred to the Edmonton Gardens.

The membership of the association was confined to persons who were over eighteen years old residing in the Federal riding of Edmonton Centre and who were "in good standing in the Liberal Association of Alberta."<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>The first public notice appeared in Edmonton Journal, May 7, 1968, p. 5.

<sup>82</sup>See The Constitution of The Edmonton Centre Federal Liberal Association, para. 3, p. 1.





The Liberal constitution differs from the Conservative and New Democratic constitutions in that normally it calls for a form of primary system to select delegates to the nominating convention. The executive of the constituency association is empowered to divide the riding into twelve primary polling areas such that each area contains an equal number of polls or split polls as may be established by the official returning officer.<sup>83</sup> A primary election is then conducted in each primary polling area by a person appointed by the executive. All members of the Association residing in a primary polling area are entitled to attend and vote at the primary election for his primary polling area.<sup>84</sup> Each primary polling area is entitled to elect a number of delegates that is equal to the sum of polls and split polls in the primary polling area multiplied by two. If the population of a poll in a primary polling area has markedly increased then the executive may entitle the poll to send an additional delegate for each one hundred and fifty electors over and above the three hundred electors that reside in each poll. Members present at each primary election elect delegates to the nominating convention.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., para. 30(a), p. 5.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., para. 30(c), p. 5.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., para. 30(e), p. 5.



The primary system in this instance was discarded by the Liberal executive considering the short time in which to organise. The executive invoked clause 25 and held an open convention.<sup>86</sup> This may partly explain why the Liberal executive did not deny "entry" to Mr. Hawrelak, who, according to the constitution, was not "in good standing" with the Liberal Association. The "open" convention places a premium on the initiative and energy of the aspirants and on organisation. This is seen in the type of campaign that was waged at the convention, which, in the words of Scarrow, ". . . resembled that of a general election . . . reaching the peak at the end of the nominating meeting and featuring campaign managers and phalanxes of workers."<sup>87</sup>

The candidates in the Liberal nomination race were appealing to a wide audience--the constituency at large. The culmination of this appeal was seen in the advertisements appearing in the local paper. Examples are illustrated below.<sup>88</sup> Mr. Gray also advertised on the same day but his advertisement (a quarter of a page) was too large for reproduction.

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<sup>86</sup>See Appendix II, Letter to Mr. Jim Whitford from Mr. D. McLean.

<sup>87</sup>Meisel (ed.), loc. cit., p. 55.

<sup>88</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 15, 1968.



The Residents  
EDMONTON CENTRE  
FEDERAL  
CONSTITUENCY

**BILL HAWWELAK**

invites you to help him in  
**LIBERAL NOMINATION**  
**THURS., MAY 14th**  
**8:00 p.m.**

**EDMONTON GARDENS**

Registration at 6:30 p.m.

**MEMBERSHIP MAY BE  
OBTAINED AT --**

309 Agency Bldg.,  
10087 Jasper Ave.  
422-1332 or 122-1411

Rosslyn Hotel  
97 St. and 136 Ave. 426-0211

Midtowner Motor Inn  
105 St. and 109 Ave. 422-5111

Inserted by  
**HAWWELAK FOR  
EDMONTON CENTRE  
COMMITTED ROOMS.**

in seeking the  
**LIBERAL NOMINATION**  
for  
**Edmonton Centre**

Mr. McClary requests the as-  
sistance and support of his  
friends and associates

By Telephoning  
482-2739 or 482-2440

Or Writing  
1201-9099 - 111 Street

**Gordon F. McClary**

Inserted by Supporters of Gordon McClary



HELP

WOMAN

1954

RUSSELL\*

LIBERAL • Edmonton Centre

at the EDMONTON GARDENS

THURSDAY MAY 16

7:30 P.M.

\*The Best Man for the Job!

Young, dynamic, able and experienced

Inserted by the Robert Russell Campaign Committee





The newspapers followed some of the Liberal candidates from the moment any "rumour" of their intentions to run arose. Mr. Whitford was given coverage when he addressed an Inter-Faith Conference of Churches.<sup>89</sup> Mr. Gray was given coverage when he attended social functions and Mr. McClary, a former alderman, when he announced his intention to contest the nomination.<sup>90</sup> Mr. Hawrelak was kept in the limelight at virtually every occasion when he made a statement--about the formation of a Liberal Multicultural Group<sup>91</sup> or his intentions to run<sup>92</sup> or not to run. His case was even taken up as "news" by a Calgary newspaper, the Albertan.<sup>93</sup> The height of publicity by the newspapers about the Liberal candidates was reached by a front page headline article on the day of the nomination--"Hawrelak Defies Liberal Leaders"--and by the page adjoining the editorial--"Main Bout--Hawrelak vs. Whitford."

The editorial page article by John Barr<sup>94</sup> listed the candidates and gave a very favourable picture of Mr. Whitford in contrast to other candidates while admitting the huge support behind Mr. Hawrelak. It described Mr.

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<sup>89</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 2, 1968, p. 33.

<sup>90</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 10, 1968, p. 10.

<sup>91</sup>Edmonton Journal, April 24, 1968.

<sup>92</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 11, 1968, p. 3.

<sup>93</sup>Albertan (Calgary), May 9, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>94</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 16, 1968, p. 4.



Whitford as "a white haired Community Development Co-ordinator and a short, fast-talking social reformer." The article pointed out that the candidate's advisers included a Professor of Theology from the University, Rev. Terry Anderson, and a former South Vietnamese government official, Dr. Nguyen Chi. The best tribute to Mr. Whitford was made in the following quotation:

His particular targets in the riding are the poorer sections; Whitford is one of the nation's best known fighters for a new deal for the Canadian Indians and Metis, and he hopes to translate this, and a burning social conscience into a new kind of a power base.<sup>95</sup>

The week before the nomination meeting Liberal leaders, led by Senator Hastings and including Committee Vice-Chairman, Roger Kerans, and Alberta Liberal President, Leo Lemieux, met with Mr. Hawrelak and discussed "the problems his candidacy was creating."<sup>96</sup> On Wednesday, the 15th of May, the Senator told the press that he was "gravely concerned about the continually rising controversy in the Liberal ranks over the possible nomination of Mr. Hawrelak." The Federal Liberal campaign chairman said reports received at party headquarters indicate Mr. Hawrelak's nomination "would cause grave division in the Alberta Liberal Party." This was believed to be a reference to rumours that several Liberal supporters and workers would withdraw from the

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<sup>95</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 16, 1968, p. 4.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., p. 1.



Federal election campaign should Mr. Hawrelak win the nomination.<sup>97</sup> The Senator's carefully worded statement pointed out that while the party was a democratic institution, allowing Edmonton Centre Liberals to decide whom they wanted for a candidate, the Alberta Federal Liberal Campaign Committee and the Provincial Liberal Association "will take whatever steps necessary to maintain party unity and purpose in this campaign." It was speculated that one of those steps might mean a party backed Independent Liberal to oppose Mr. Hawrelak, if he was nominated.<sup>98</sup>

The ex-Mayor's response to these pressures was a refusal to withdraw and an avowal he would stand or fall with the people at the Edmonton Centre convention. I quote, "I'd sooner have the people on my side than one or two members of the Liberal executive . . . neither Senator Hastings nor anybody else should have any say or dictate to the will of the people."<sup>99</sup>

With this tension-ridden background the Edmonton Centre Liberal Convention attracted a very large crowd of some 2,500<sup>100</sup> or 3,000<sup>101</sup> people, perhaps with the

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<sup>97</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>100</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 17, 1968, p. 2.

<sup>101</sup>Albertan (Calgary), May 17, 1968, p. 1.





Conservative convention at Red Deer the largest in Western Canada. The entrance to the Edmonton Gardens was surrounded by supporters of the candidates and their "organisational personnel" who handed out literature and pinned badges with their candidates' names.

The members who intended to vote had to go to a row of desks to show their membership cards or buy new ones and to collect the ballot paper. Then one proceeded into the arena, joining the mass of people who sat there, divided according to the candidate they supported, waving banners and placards. An occasional melody from a lone band could be heard. The atmosphere was very much like that of a leadership convention--perhaps the television broadcasts of the two national party leadership conventions led the supporters of the nominees to behave in a similar fashion.

Each candidate's nominator was permitted to make a speech, not exceeding four minutes. Then, before the candidates' speeches, demonstrations began. Each candidate's demonstration was not to exceed more than three minutes. The chairman had stipulated at the beginning of the meeting that if a demonstration exceeded three minutes by more than thirty seconds, then the candidate's speech time would be correspondingly reduced. In practice, the demonstrations lasted for periods longer than three minutes but none of the candidates was penalised.

Mr. Gray's demonstration was the biggest, loudest



and most disciplined, consisting of some sixty drum-major-ettes and twenty brass instrument players. They were well dressed and managed to attract attention by creating the loudest noise. Mr. Whitford's demonstration consisted of a dozen young girls dressed up in different national costumes--French, Ukrainian, North American Indian, Chinese, Vietnamese and Scottish--and arranged in a circle in front of the podium they twirled around like Japanese toys. Mr. Hawrelak's demonstration was not at all as colourful as the other two--consisting mainly of poorly dressed people carrying an odd placard or two. The demonstrations of other candidates were "ordinary" in that they consisted of a few followers marching around the arena with placards occasionally shouting their candidate's name.

After the demonstrations, as stipulated by the constitution<sup>102</sup> the candidates came to the platform and their christian names or chosen nicknames and surnames were written on a blackboard in alphabetical order. Then the speeches of the candidates began. The largeness of the arena and fuzziness of the microphone, with its crackling sound, made the speeches difficult to hear.

Mr. Gordon McClary, the former alderman, indicated that he was not interested in running after all and that to quicken procedures he would withdraw, urging his

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<sup>102</sup> See The Constitution of Edmonton Centre Federal Liberal Association, para. 34(h), p. 7.



supporters to vote for Don Gray. This may have been a decisive move in giving Mr. Gray a lead over his rivals, except Mr. Hawrelak, in the first ballot. If Mr. McClary had supported Mr. Whitford then it is possible that these additional votes could have started a "band wagon" effect on his side. The author has tried to find out whether there was any "collusion" prior to the convention between Mr. Gray and Mr. McClary but so far has not succeeded.

Mr. Robert Russell, 37, a real estate company director, was well known in Liberal circles. He had served as a school trustee for three years and was a member of the Liberal executive. In 1967 he lost in the St. Albert riding in the Provincial election to a Social Crediter and lost in a St. Albert civic by-election. In his speech the candidate stressed reform of the parliamentary system, recommending a reduction in the number of Cabinet Ministers and Cabinet Committees. He emphasized the growth and development of private industries and advocated a cut in welfare programmes which he felt "had gone far enough". More capital, he said, should be attracted to the West and he recommended the production of more finished products from the basic materials--oil and gas.

The next speaker, Mr. Don Gray, 44,<sup>103</sup> stressed mainly the "Trudeau" appeal and dealt with issues of

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<sup>103</sup>For personal details see Chapter IV.





pollution, industrial expansion, unemployment, urban planning, housing and education. Mr. William Hawrelak, 52, the ex-mayor<sup>104</sup> advocated bilingualism and multiculturalism for Canada as well as the elimination of discrimination, so as to make every Canadian equal regardless of his origins. He emphasized the regional economic differences as affecting Canadian unity and said that he stood for more coordination in order to develop the West.

Mr. Russell Dzenick, 36, a lawyer and the youngest of the candidates was the President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee's Edmonton branch and a recipient of a Canada Centennial Medal in 1967.<sup>105</sup> After affirming his belief in the family unit and the free enterprise economy he argued that the present form of Federal structure was the best to deal with the encouragement of various associations, languages and cultures. The candidate interpreted the "Just Society" as being that "in which every member is well enough educated to enjoy freedom from economic want." Mr. Dzenick saw himself as a "Western Nationalist" and castigated the present form of Federalism for discriminating financially against the West. His remedy was to set up Western banks and to improve transportation facilities which would develop the North and benefit Edmonton.

Mr. Whitford, 38, M.A. (Toronto and Mexico), had

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<sup>104</sup>For his background see Chapter IV.

<sup>105</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 16, 1968, p. 3.





taught in an Indian school and slum districts in Toronto. In February, 1964, he came to Alberta to establish and coordinate the new Community Development programme which sought to attack problems of poverty, alienation and human rights. The candidate had not previously been formally connected with any political party and decided to join the Liberal Party because of the appeal of Trudeau. Mr. Whitford's speech emphasized problems of regional differences and national identity. He maintained that Canada as a nation was in danger of losing its identity because of the French-English dichotomy, the East-West divisions, "British Columbia's love affair with the Pacific and Atlantic Provinces' poverty." He reiterated once again, with the other candidates, that it was essential to preserve the multicultural way of life in Canada since people of different backgrounds bring richness to Canada. The candidate touched upon the need for a new housing policy, for a reassessment of Canada's role in NATO and NORAD, and for a closer working unity between the Federal government and the municipalities.

At the completion of the speeches ballot boxes were placed at strategic positions and persons filed by, row by row, dropping their ballots in the boxes nearest to them. In the first ballot 1,662 valid ballots and eight spoilt ballots were cast. Mr. Gordon McClary received three, although he had withdrawn from the nomination even before



the balloting began.<sup>106</sup> The breakdown of votes was as follows:

|                  |       |
|------------------|-------|
| William Hawrelak | 712   |
| Don Gray         | 425   |
| Jim Whitford     | 223   |
| Russell Dzenick  | 176   |
| Robert Russell   | 126   |
|                  | <hr/> |
|                  | 1,662 |
|                  | <hr/> |

In order to win the candidacy, a contestant needed a majority of the votes, or at least 832. Mr. Hawrelak was nearest to a majority but was still 120 votes short. Mr. Russell, the candidate with the lowest vote, was eliminated. To indicate his preference to his supporters he promptly put on a Gray sticker. Then Mr. Whitford's campaign manager, Terry Anderson, announced that his candidate had withdrawn in favour of Mr. Gray. He was followed by Mr. Dzenick, who did not specify to his supporters whom they should vote for.

The second ballot gave Mr. Gray 820 votes--an addition of 395--and Mr. Hawrelak 722 votes--an addition of ten votes. There were twenty-five spoilt ballots. We surmise that Dzenick followers must have been more anti-Hawrelak than pro-ethnic.

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<sup>106</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 22, 1968, p. 63.



The Liberal Party officials were delighted at the result. "Liberal Party officials at the Gardens did not hide their joy at the final result. Nobody looked more relieved than chairman David McLean when he told the cheering audience that they had 'chosen' well."<sup>107</sup>

Mr. Hawrelak's reaction was that he did not doubt that there was a coalition against him and that the statement by the Liberal Party executive against his entry a day before the nominating convention had hurt his chances. The ex-Mayor, not satisfied with the outcome of the nomination results, on the next day requested a recount of balloting. The recount was promised by Mr. David McLean and confirmed by Mr. G. Sinclair, an Alberta Liberal organiser. The latter added that the recount had been requested of the first ballot only and that it would be held on Tuesday, 21st May.<sup>108</sup>

Mr. Gray, the winner, asked to comment on Mr. Hawrelak's purpose, said, "I don't think Mr. Hawrelak knows what he is looking for but he is certainly entitled to a recount . . . Mr. Hawrelak is probably worried about a disparity between the number of memberships his organisation sold and the number of votes he received on the first ballot."<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>107</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 17, 1968, p. 2.

<sup>108</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 18, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., p. 1.





The recount did not change the result. Four thousand ballots were printed. 1,726 ballots---with each delegate receiving five of a different colour--were handed out at the convention. Only 1,671 people voted, eight spoiling their ballots. Thus only fifty-five people who received the ballot did not vote the first time. The only change that occurred from the recount was an increase in Mr. Gray's vote by one bringing it to 426.<sup>110</sup>

The real purpose behind the "recount" was not to challenge the accuracy of the scrutineers and ballot counting officials but to express the "discontent" of the Hawrelak followers with the manner in which the nominating convention was run. Mr. Mosychuk, the ex-Mayor's nominator, in a letter to Mr. Hawrelak, the essence of which was eventually sent to the Edmonton Centre Liberal executive, the Alberta Liberal Association, the National Liberal Federation and the Prime Minister<sup>111</sup> expressed this purpose in these terms after having listed a number of "irregularities":

There were many more instances of improper conduct . . . the total result was an atmosphere and attitude operating to exclude as many of Mr. Hawrelak's supporters as possible. The curious result is that there would be no way to determine the number of people attending as delegates, who they were, nor reconciling ballots issued against persons entitled to vote. No doubt a recount which would only establish a reconciliation between ballots printed, ballots used and unused and the correctness of the

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<sup>110</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 22, 1968, p. 63.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid., p. 1.



tally will show it to be accurate, it will not of course show who was entitled to vote. A recount should however be requested for the record.<sup>112</sup>

Mr. Mosychuk pointed out that, due to considerations of party unity and growth, Mr. Hawrelak should not challenge the results of the nominating convention but that the matter should be investigated in order to prevent a repetition of "such disrespect to the people and society." To the news media Mr. Hawrelak indicated that in view of the time element he would not ask for another nominating meeting but that he might contest as an Independent Liberal.<sup>113</sup>

The list of "irregularities" allegedly having occurred at the nominating convention was long. One "irregularity" was the non-registration of voting delegates, thereby making it impossible to determine: 1) how many delegates were present; 2) whether those given ballots were in fact residents; 3) whether all those entitled to vote received a ballot; and 4) whether ballots issued could be reconciled with the number of people entitled to vote. Other allegations included arbitrary and inconsistent identification of persons and their residences, denial of ballots to Hawrelak supporters (at least 30)<sup>114</sup> at 9:07 p.m. but issuance of ballots to others at 9:55 p.m. The

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<sup>112</sup>Appendix III, Letter from Mr. Mosychuk to Mr. Hawrelak, p. 4.

<sup>113</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 22, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., p. 1.



list included many other examples of irregularities-- virtually at every step in the nomination process. Mr. Mosychuk added that he could substantiate these allegations with names and sworn affidavits.<sup>115</sup>

Mr. McLean's reaction to this letter was "there is absolutely no truth" to the allegations contained in Mr. Hawrelak's statement. He added that the former mayor's supporters were proving to be "poor losers".<sup>116</sup>

The author believes that the truth lies somewhere between these two positions. Mr. Hawrelak's accusation of non-registration is probably nearer the truth. On the 14th of May, two days before the nominating convention, Mr. McLean admitted that he had no idea of the total number of memberships sold in the new city riding, because many books of membership cards were given out and would not be returned until after the convention.<sup>117</sup> I cannot see how within two or three days this state of affairs could have changed. The Conservative constituency executive, as we have seen, managed to keep a card index file and managed to contact all the members who had voted on the first ballot in order to inform them about the rerun. We suggest that the Liberal Party executive for the constituency could also have

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<sup>115</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>117</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 14, 1968, p. 3.





kept cards instead of using a "rubber stamp" mark, with no permanent record.

Of the determination of residence it can be said that when there are a few thousand people to be processed within a short time, it can become very "arbitrary". The Conservative executive had left the determination in the hands of party scrutineers. Even this was not satisfactory but we suppose that the solution eventually boils down to expediency. In any case, in the Liberal convention the residency requirement became meaningless.

On the other hand Mr. Hawrelak's allegations may not be completely true. If he was so sure of his grounds then certainly he could have initiated an investigation and produced his affidavits. However, we hope that the matter may be cleared up by further research. It is important to notice that this was the background on which part of the campaign, with which we will deal in the next chapter, rested.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE CAMPAIGN

The traditional justification for political campaigning was the idea that it was a decisive factor in making up the voter's mind. Studies of political socialisation show this to be a myth and that most voters, a long time prior to the campaign, develop identification towards a political party in their teens, inheriting their parents' beliefs modified by education, occupation and social status.<sup>1</sup>

Despite these findings why do politicians put in a great deal of time and energy into campaigns?

Firstly, there is no conclusive proof that campaigns are totally ineffective. Further, political parties are concerned not only with winning a majority but a maximum number of seats--making campaigns crucial in marginal areas.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, campaigns involve the whole community in the process of government giving the individual a sense of

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<sup>1</sup>F. I. Greenstein, "Children and Politics" passim. and R. E. Lane and D. D. Sears, Public Opinion (Englewood: Prentice-Hall, 1964), Chapter 3.

<sup>2</sup>For importance of marginal seats in a British general election see Janosik, op. cit., pp. 62-3, footnote 2.



political efficacy towards men and policies that shape his conditions of life.

Thirdly, campaigns are waged by candidates who have to familiarise themselves to their constituents-- "educating" themselves in this process. Conversely, participating in meetings and being exposed to the mass media the individual learns about contemporary problems of government. In Butler's words, "a campaign may contribute more to political education than to electoral choice."<sup>3</sup>

Fourthly, at the constituency level the voter does have the option of choosing between personalities, "local" men vs. outsiders and politicians advocating different policies and ideologies.

As the candidates are the "linchpin" in the campaign we will examine their personal backgrounds, their "organisations" and their "personal" campaigns. Campaigns are complex and include many political "activities" simultaneously; therefore, we have to make a choice (partly dependent on data available) what to cover. We shall deal with the various types of meetings that were held to "campaign" for the candidates and cover the issues discussed at them. We shall try to deal with the campaign "techniques" used, the influence of national leaders, advertising by the candidates in newspapers, radio and television and in turn the coverage

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<sup>3</sup>D. E. Butler and A. King, The British General Election of 1966 (New York: MacMillan, 1966), p. 96.





given by these media of communication. Lastly, we will deal with expenses incurred by the candidates and compare those with national figures. This is a vast area to cover and therefore is "incomplete" and "sketchy" but not without significance.

# 1. Personal Background of Candidates

Dr. Norman Gerald Dolman--N.D.P.<sup>4</sup> Norman Dolman was born in the year of the "General Strike", 1926, at Balham, a suburb of London, England. His father was a policeman who worked in the working class districts adjoining Balham. He was the oldest of three children (the other two were girls) and his family later adopted another child.

Most of his education was obtained in the local grammar school. After completion he furthered his studies by attending Northampton College of Advanced Technology where he obtained a Diploma of Fellow of the British Optical Association. Not being satisfied with this he studied for an honours degree in optics--the highest possible qualification in his profession at that time.

While at the Northampton College of Advanced Technology he became interested in debates and was

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<sup>4</sup>Most of this information was obtained from a personal interview given to the author on 20th October, 1968, 7 to 8 p.m. at the Medical Centre, 10006 - 104th Street, Edmonton.



attracted by Fabian Socialism in the tradition of Sydney and Beatrice Webb and the Labour Party. His "heroes" were Bertrand Russell and George Bernard Shaw. Among the Labour Party leaders he admired Aneurin Bevan who was the chief architect in the post-war period of the British National Health Service.

On completion of his studies he taught at Northampton College of Advanced Technology for three years. During the War he served in the infantry from early 1944 to 1947. On being demobilised he returned to his former post and was married in 1949.

Two of his children--a boy and a girl--were born in England. He was concentrating on "building up the family". Though not active in politics and not a member of the Labour Party, he "never voted Conservative".

The decision to come to Canada was made by the Suez crisis. "The Suez crisis was the last straw." Norman Dolman felt that he had done enough for his country and the fact that rumours of ex-servicemen were being recalled for active duty spurred him on to leave England for Canada. The Dolmans arrived in Edmonton in 1957 and have been there since.

At first, like thousands of other new immigrants, he concentrated on his (optometrist's) business and his creative activities were confined to playing the string bass in the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra. He had "vague



notions of what the Liberals and Conservatives stood for here . . . at least they had similar names as in Britain." Dr. Dolman confessed that at first he was "duped" by the name Social Credit which he expected to be a Socialist party. However, "after a few meetings it became clear that this was not the case."

In 1964 Dr. Dolman joined MENSA and is very proud of belonging to the 2% of the most intelligent people. Another memorable event in his life in the same year was his joining the New Democratic Party. His reasons for joining were as following.

1. The humanitarianism of the N.D.P. appealed to him "especially the welfare and social security aspects. . . . The other parties talked about money, not humanitarianism."
2. The other reason for joining the N.D.P. was its scientific method. "The socialism as advocated by Social Democrats seemed to me a more scientific and logical way of developing the economy and distributing the resources."

Dr. Dolman has served on the editorial board of the party newspaper, is the author of a pamphlet, The Application of Physiological and Psychological Principles in Political Campaigning,<sup>5</sup> and was a member of St. Albert Protestant School Board. For the last three years he has been the 2nd Vice-President of the Provincial N.D.P. Association. He contested the Provincial Election of 1967

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<sup>5</sup>Published by the N.D.P.





as an N.D.P. candidate in the St. Albert area but was heavily defeated by the Social Credit candidate.

Donald Gray - Liberal.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Gray was born in Montreal in 1924 of Quebecois parentage. His father came from a small town but his mother was born and bred in Montreal. He is married to a Montreal girl who had trained at St. Mary's as a nurse and has eight children. Mr. Gray was brought up a Protestant but recently became a Catholic.

He was educated at Willingdon and West Hill School in Montreal. He entered Sir George Williams University to study for a Bachelor of Commerce degree but did not complete his education. Instead, he went to work for General Motors as a dealer. In 1954 Mr. Gray moved West and bought a small transport business, Western Mack Truck, in Edmonton. Since then Mr. Gray has devoted himself to building up the trucking business and today he is also the President of M & P Transport (bought in 1965) employing around 400 people.

During the War Mr. Gray served overseas for a while and when demobilised he became "more liberal" than was the case before he joined the army. However, he became disenchanted with the Liberals who he felt had been in power for far too long a period without any effective opposition.

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<sup>6</sup>Interview, 5th November, 1968, at his office, 14550 - 116th Avenue.



He became interested in the Conservative Party and his interest came to a head with the Diefenbaker sweep of 1957 with the Liberals' roughshod treatment of the Pipeline Debate. The candidate was elected in 1958 as a delegate to the "Diefenbaker" convention. Once the "Chief" was in power Mr. Gray felt that his duty was done. However, he became disenchanted with the Diefenbaker administration which he felt was not performing properly the task of governing the country.

On redistribution and creation of the new constituency of Edmonton Centre, though not an active member, Mr. Gray was still regarded as a "nominal" Conservative. Gerard Amerongen and Robert Mannion, Conservative constituency officials, asked Mr. Gray to run in a nomination race against Mr. Jack Jewel. However, Mr. Gray felt that he did not have sufficient time and that he was interested in the Liberal Party which he had re-joined a year ago. The author asked him how he reconciled moving from one party to the other. Mr. Gray said, "Both parties are the same with no ideological differences . . . they are like two management teams."

In community services, Mr. Gray was the Chairman of the National Crusade for Canadian Retarded Children Fund, was a Director of Misericordia Hospital and held key posts with the Edmonton Community Fund.

During the interview Mr. Gray mentioned an interesting



viewpoint which may partly explain the reluctance of many business executives to enter politics. Mr. Gray owns the majority of shares in his two companies but there are also many "minority" shares. The latter objected vehemently to Mr. Gray's entry into politics believing that he would not pay adequate attention to the running of the business thus neglecting profits and the value of their own shares. In order to release executives like him Mr. Gray suggested that a modified form of the "American cabinet" system through appointments should be introduced in Canada.

William Hawrelak - Independent Liberal. Mr.

Hawrelak was born in 1915 of pioneer Ukrainian parents at Wasel, 60 miles northwest of Edmonton. His father had emigrated from the Ukraine and helped pioneer northeast Alberta, organising and serving as secretary treasurer for twenty-five school districts and three municipal districts. Like his parent, Mr. Hawrelak inherited the Ukrainian Orthodox faith.

He received most of his education in Edmonton, graduating from Victoria High School. It was here that he met his wife, Pearl Shandro, who also came from pioneer stock, settled at Shandro (a village named after her family) sixty miles northeast of Edmonton. They married and farmed at Wasel. They have three daughters, all of whom are now adults and married. In 1934 William Hawrelak took over a farm from his father with a \$30,000 mortgage on





it. Within ten years he paid off the debt and transformed the farm into a successful business. He became the Vice-President of Alberta Farmers' Union.

The Hawrelaks moved to Edmonton in 1945 and bought Prairie Rose Manufacturing Co. Ltd. Mr. Hawrelak was subsequently elected to the Presidency of Alberta Bottlers' Union. Today Mr. Hawrelak owns several companies, including The Midtowner Motor Inn, Rosslyn Hotel, Garneau Towers, and he shares in several investment companies.

William Hawrelak had always been interested in politics. He ran for an aldermanic post in 1948 and was defeated; but in the following year he was elected. In 1951 he was swept into the Mayor's office by a landslide victory and was one of the youngest Mayors to be elected in Canada. He was re-elected by acclamation in 1953 and 1955 and re-elected in 1957. In June of 1957 the candidate made his first bid at entering Federal politics. He ran in Edmonton East as a Liberal and narrowly missed being elected. Ambrose Holowach, a Social Credit candidate, beat Mr. Hawrelak with a 472 vote majority.

Mr. Hawrelak continued being the Mayor until his resignation in 1959 when a judicial inquiry into civic affairs conducted by Mr. Justice M. M. Porter found him guilty of gross misconduct. Despite this verdict Mr. Hawrelak was re-elected in 1963 and 1964 but five months later he was disqualified. The Supreme Court of Alberta



disqualified Mr. Hawrelak from holding office as Mayor "because he was associated with a company which had over twenty-five percent share of its business with the city."<sup>7</sup>

In September 1966 the City of Edmonton sought \$113,000 from Mr. Hawrelak in judgement and damages or alternatively an accounting of "secret profits" made from his office as Mayor which consisted of \$88,000 profits made when he sold shares in a company and \$25,000 in excess payment for land. Mr. Hawrelak settled this dispute outside the Court and paid the City \$100,000. In October 1966, William Hawrelak once again ran as a mayoralty candidate against Vincent Dantzer and lost. Since then Mr. Hawrelak has not taken public part in politics but has attended to his business concerns. In April 1968, subsequent to the announcement of Federal General Election by Prime Minister Trudeau, Mr. Hawrelak was appointed the Chairman of Canadian Liberal Multicultural Council whose function was to act in an advisory capacity to the leader and executive of the Liberal Party, providing the views of the multicultural groups.<sup>8</sup>

Steven Eugene Paproski - Progressive Conservative.<sup>9</sup>

Mr. Paproski was born in Lvov, Poland, in 1928 of humble

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<sup>7</sup>Edmonton Journal, October 15, 1966.

<sup>8</sup>Edmonton Journal, April 24, 1968.

<sup>9</sup>Telephone conversation, 6th January, 1969.



parents. His father was a Ukrainian orthopaedic shoe-maker and his mother of Polish peasant stock. He emigrated to Canada with his mother in 1930 and was later joined by his father. They settled in Edmonton and his father worked for Lamb Brothers repairing shoes at 105th Street and Jasper Avenue. The candidate worked with his father and by 14 years of age knew the trade well. At the age of sixteen Mr. Paproski tried to enrol in the army but his mother told the sergeant-major his true age, disappointing him very much. Times were hard for the Paproski family. "We had to patch up our first two houses . . . at times we all four brothers (he is the oldest), mother and father had to sleep in one bed. It wasn't all flowers and roses." Mr. Paproski has retained his parents' religious beliefs and is a church-going Roman Catholic.

Steve Paproski's education was mainly in the Edmonton area--Sacred Heart, McCauley and Victoria High School. It was at school that he developed his musical talents and took part in amateur musical productions. It was this interest that led him to become a director of the Civic Opera Society. The candidate was a good football player and managed to obtain an athletic scholarship to North Dakota and Arizona colleges.

After three years of college he returned to his ill mother, who soon died (his father died in 1946). The candidate then took up professional football and played





for the Edmonton Eskimos for five years. Six months after his mother's death, Mr. Paproski met his wife at a double-date with Eugene Kiniski, while she was down from Ottawa with her brother, who was a professional hockey player. They were married nine months later. She is a trained nurse and was head of the floor in a Montreal hospital at the same time that Mrs. Gray, the Liberal candidate's wife, was in training. She worked in the Misericordia Hospital and the Paproskis "took in" Mr. Paproski's two younger brothers who were in intermediate school. One later went into medicine and is now a practicing doctor.

In addition to professional football as the main means of making a living the candidate also took up selling insurance. He also bought two drug stores but sold them and ventured into wholesale general supplies material for construction. Mr. Paproski became the General Sales Manager for Northern Sales Supplies and later of Alberta Building Supplies Company, and was a sales executive with Alberta Concrete Products Company Limited.

In terms of being "active" in politics, Mr. Paproski said that owing to his hardships he had developed a compassion for his fellow human beings especially those who have a hard struggle for livelihood. If this meant "politics", then he was always active. The candidate's interest in "active" politics developed six months prior to the election; until then he did not wish to step on peoples' toes.



There was considerable opposition from his wife and family. His income would drop since his earnings as a sales manager were far higher than those of an M.P. The candidate admired Mr. Diefenbaker. Pearson was a "statesman not a Prime Minister". The candidate felt that "Trudeau was far too left as far as I was concerned but I am willing to give him a chance." In civic and community affairs the candidate was corporate chairman of United Community Fund, past President and Director of Marian Centre--a charitable institution providing food and shelter for the unemployed--Director of Marydale, Council of Catholic Charities and a member of the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce.

## 2. Organisation

In a cadre party the basic function of a constituency organisation is to select a candidate and get him elected. The constituency organisation tries to find out which are the "friendly" voters and tries to get them out to cast their vote on election day.

There are three distinct phases in Canadian campaigning.<sup>10</sup> There is the enumeration when the two parties with the highest vote in the last election provide personnel to prepare the voters' list. Secondly, some type of canvass is undertaken to determine where party

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<sup>10</sup>J. Meisel, The Canadian General Election of 1957 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 83.



support is and how it can be brought out. Thirdly is the election, including such matters as advertising, arranging meetings and mass rallies. In our study we are mainly concerned with the second and third phases.

Possessing a strong and efficient organisation which performs its task professionally increases a candidate's chances of winning. Organisations of the major parties at constituency level do not differ greatly. They depend on the amount of resources available to the candidate.

An elaborate model of the organisation helping a candidate was worked out by Professor Meisel and is shown in a diagrammatical form below.<sup>11</sup>

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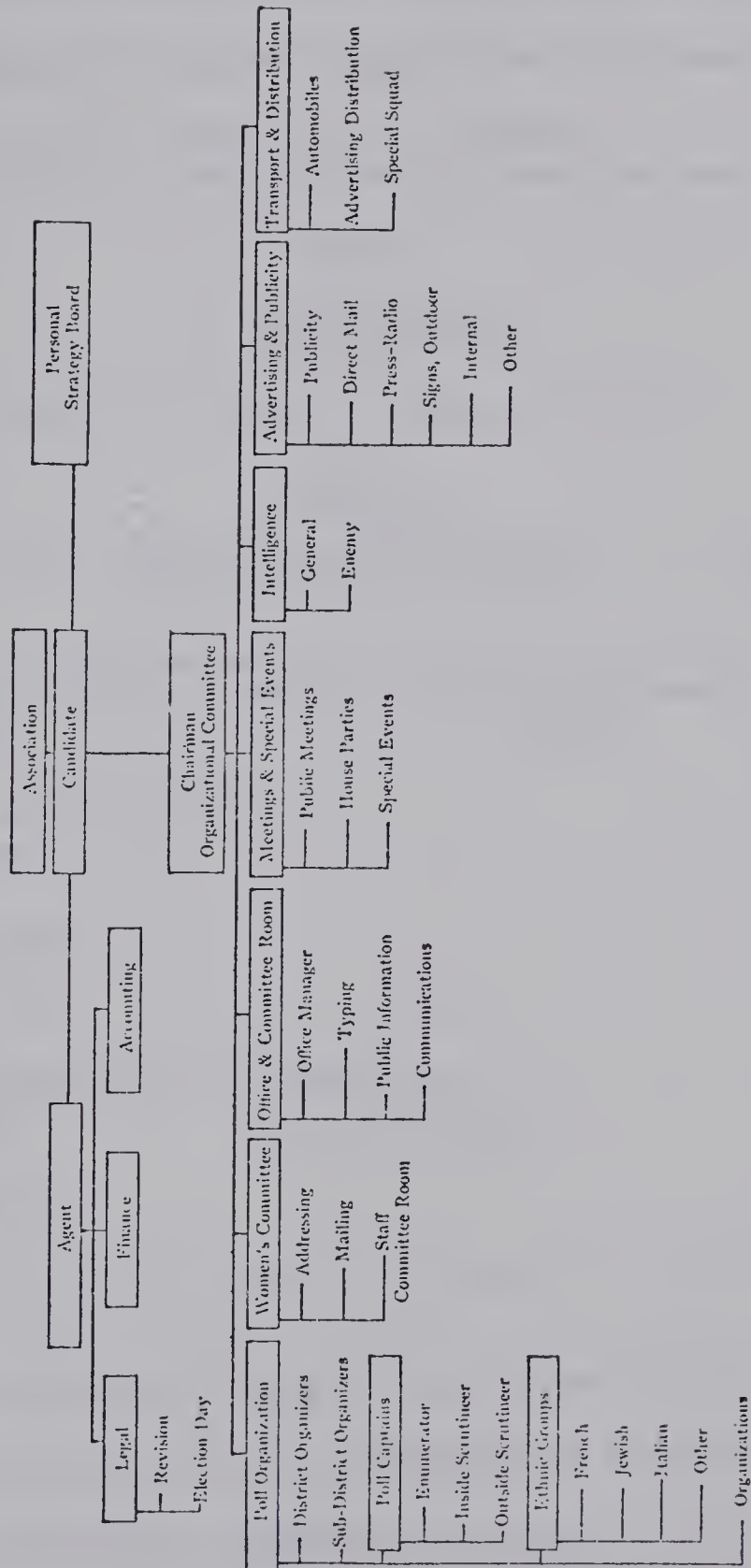
<sup>11</sup>Meisel, op. cit., p. 88, reproduced.





## CHART 3

Organization of the Conservative Party for the 1957 General Election:  
Notre Dame de Grace Constituency, Montreal.

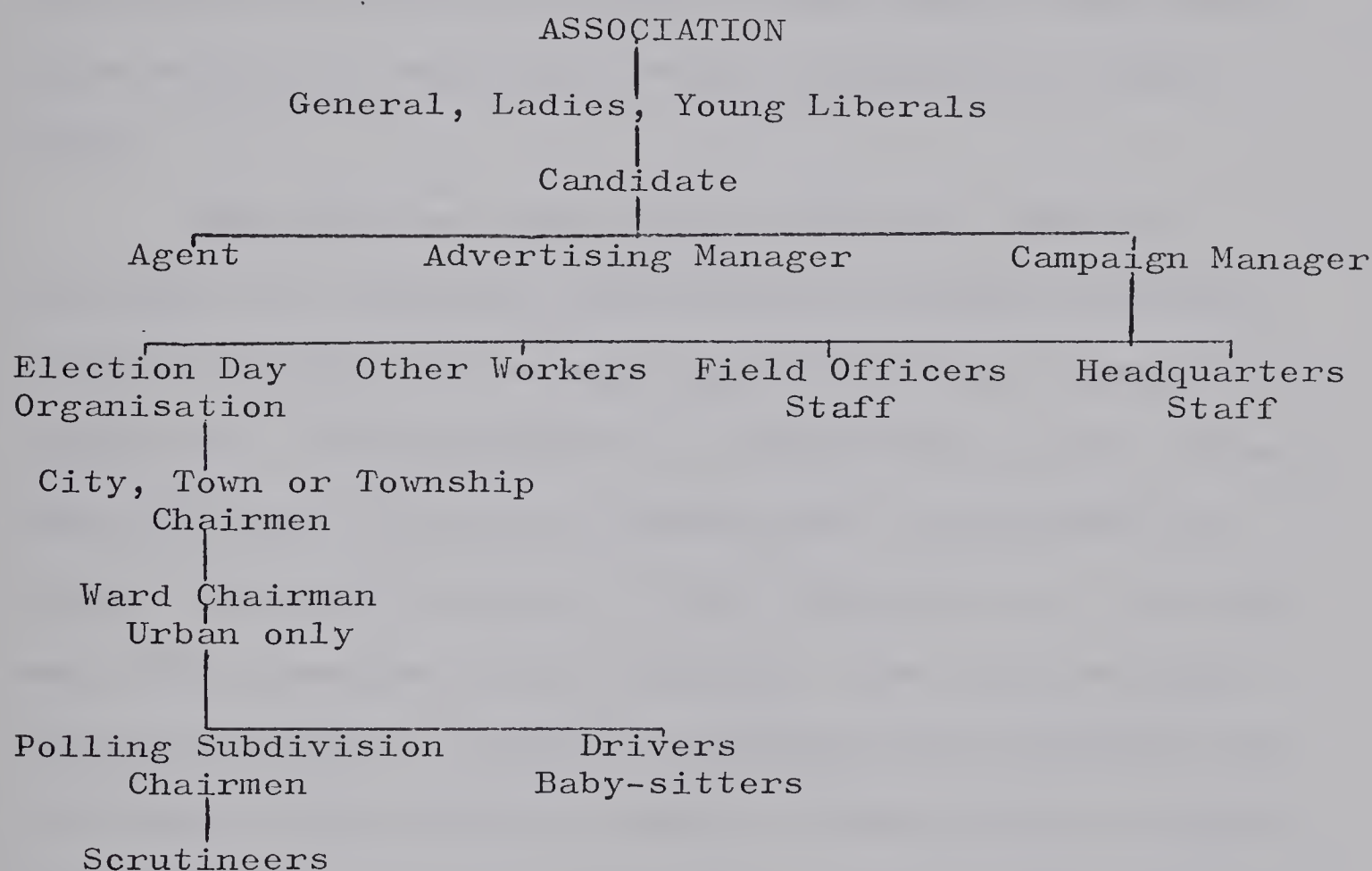




However, this model is too elaborate and atypical since most candidates do not possess the resources nor the personnel to set up such an organisation. More realistically the Edmonton Centre candidates followed the simpler D. R. Allan model<sup>12</sup> which is as below.

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CHART 4



The origins of the final organisations can be traced to a point previous to the nomination meetings when the candidates appointed campaign managers, e.g., Mr. Gray - Al Jones, an insurance salesman; Mr. Paproski - Larry

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<sup>12</sup>Meisel, op. cit., p. 89.



Messier, a real estate businessman; and Dr. Dolman - Mr. McCarthy. The winning nominees, i.e., now candidates, retained their own campaign managers and added personnel from supporters of other nominating candidates and the constituency party organisation. The campaign manager is in overall charge of the candidate's campaign. Since the constituency was newly created we must repeat that party organisation at this level before nomination was very scant.

The official agent is the official campaign treasurer of a candidate and fills the forms required by Canada Elections Act showing expenditures and receipts of candidates. Phyllis Heisler, a housewife, was Dr. Dolman's official agent; Don Gray's agent was J. Alan Bryan, a lawyer, as were the agents of Mr. Paproski, H. L. Irving, and of Mr. Hawrelak, Nick Mosychuk. The relationships between the agents, campaign managers and candidates have not been so far studied in depth and demarcated in Canada. This has been tried for the Labour Party in Britain.<sup>13</sup>

Mr. Gray hired three campaign offices and made his headquarters at Chancery Hall in the downtown area. To be "on hand" the Liberal candidate and his campaign manager at the end of April moved into the Caravan Motor Hotel and remained there until the election day. Mr. Gray

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<sup>13</sup>For the Labour Party in Britain see Janosik, op. cit., pp. 70-4.





had a considerable office staff to run the three offices and had cars and trucks at his disposal from his own transport company. Robert Russell, the defeated nomination candidate and a veteran "campaigner", was in charge of field work--polling and canvassing. None of the candidates had "special" advertising managers except Mr. Hawrelak who handed the "literature and media" side to a public relations firm. The campaign managers usually dealt with the "advertising" side.

The organisations of the other candidates were less elaborate. Mr. Paproski established his main campaign headquarters at 13035 - 97th Street, behind a laundry depot. A subsidiary office was established at 9910 - 108th Avenue, in the same district that the other candidates William Hawrelak<sup>14</sup> and Dr. Dolman<sup>15</sup>, had their headquarters. Mr. Hawrelak, in addition, established committee rooms at 10626 - 101st Street and hired two trailers--a medium sized one set up at 14410 - 118th Avenue and a smaller one at 9223 - 128A Avenue.

In order to staff such an elaborate organisation it is necessary to have a "skeletal" paid staff in addition to volunteer workers. Mr. Paproski had three paid "field" workers, Terry Jewel and Curtis Long--two University

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<sup>14</sup>9656 - 107A Avenue.

<sup>15</sup>10121A - 107th Avenue.



students--and Alex S. McRae; and two other paid office organisers, Edyth Pettigrew and the candidate's brother, Carl Paproski.<sup>16</sup> We can only conjecture that Mr. Gray and Mr. Hawrelak had similar staff, if not more paid workers (corresponding with higher expenditures), since they did not provide similar information. Dr. Dolman paid his campaign manager and an office stenographer.<sup>17</sup> Messrs. Long and Jewel for Mr. Paproski organised the field workers whose job it was to see that certain polls were canvassed and literature delivered. All candidates laid out a poll-by-poll breakdown of the constituency and tried to concentrate on those areas where they felt they could elicit the most support. Messrs. Long and Jewel used the mayoralty race results (1966) to analyse Mr. Hawrelak's support and concluded that he was not a "threat" since the redistribution had shifted his support to Edmonton East. Al Jones, Mr. Gray's campaign manager, concluded that the Liberal support was mainly in the north and northeastern suburban areas of the constituency and in the high-rise areas. Whether their conjectures were valid or not will be brought out in the next chapter when we analyse the constituency poll by poll.

The role of volunteer workers was mainly that of canvassing and election day activities--transportation,

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<sup>16</sup> See Return of Election Expenses Form 61-11.65-3M from the Returning Officer, Mr. Baribeau.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.



baby-sitting and scrutineering. There was an "upsurge" in political interest due to "Trudeaumania" and the Conservative leadership convention. Mr. Gray's organisation claimed to have around five hundred volunteer workers.<sup>18</sup> Among the voluntary workers the younger people played a significant part. The Liberals set up and mobilised "Action Trudeau" groups, consisting of mini-skirted and "swinging" teen-agers and college students. Mr. Alex Starko, with the Paproski campaign, remarking on the involvement of the younger generation, said, "they are better educated, more concerned and very exuberant."<sup>19</sup> The Dolman campaign was virtually totally dependent on volunteers mainly from the trade union membership and the New Democratic Youth.

While dealing with organisation, we must stress that there are many areas where there is room for greater research. Scarrow's study of the characteristics of poll captains, examining their status and political attitudes<sup>20</sup>, is a step in the right direction. A lot more research is necessary in determining the roles of campaign managers, agents, exact breakdown of voluntary workers, etc. We

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<sup>18</sup> Al Jones, 20th June, 1968.

<sup>19</sup> Edmonton Journal, June 6, 1968, p. 17.

<sup>20</sup> H. A. Scarrow, "Three Dimensions of a Local Political Party," in (ed.) J. Meisel, Papers on the 1962 Election (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. 53-67.





hope that future research workers and students will examine these areas.

### 3. Meetings

Before the advent of television, meetings and "whistle stop" tours were the main devices for reaching the constituency electorate. These still play a role in modern campaigning albeit a less significant one. There were many types of meetings held during the campaign, including a mass rally with national leaders, meetings with prominent civic and political leaders, and mixed all-candidate forums. The old coffee party was virtually on the way out. It is difficult to measure the actual impact of a meeting. Many people who attend meetings are the politically active and already "committed". It is virtually impossible to determine voters' final choices without the aid of survey research. We can therefore only hypothesize that meetings do have some "impact" on the voter, if nothing more than an "educative" one. From the candidates' point of view we assume that the meetings will give them "exposure" with the national or other prominent leaders. At the meetings we will also examine the various issues discussed with a view to drawing up a frequency distribution of issues.

Mass Rally with National Leaders. There were three mass rallies held in Edmonton during the campaign. The



Liberal rally was on the 4th of June, the Conservative on 11th June and the New Democrat on 14th June. The latter parties hired the Jubilee Auditorium and held meetings in the evenings while the Liberals had an open-air rally outside the City Hall in the downtown area at 5 o'clock to catch people finishing their working day.

Mr. Trudeau's popularity was very high. Personalities Posters Inc. of Montreal sold 23,000 giant posters of Trudeau which were the hottest item in the firm's line of 285 personalities ranging from W. C. Fields to Sophia Loren.<sup>21</sup> The Liberal rally in Edmonton, despite this popularity, drew some 3,000<sup>22</sup> people compared to Stanfield's 3,500<sup>23</sup> and Douglas' 2,000.<sup>24</sup> In other parts of Canada Mr. Trudeau consistently drew bigger crowds than either Mr. Douglas or Mr. Stanfield. In Vancouver Mr. Trudeau drew 10,000 compared to Mr. Douglas' 800<sup>25</sup> and Mr. Stanfield's 5,000<sup>26</sup> which was by far the biggest crowd the latter managed. Trudeau's biggest crowd was 40,000 people in Phillips Square, Toronto. This was the largest

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<sup>21</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 23, 1968, p. 32.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., June 5, 1968, p. 61.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., June 12, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., June 15, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., June 17, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., June 14, 1968, p. 2.



"political gathering in the history of Canada".<sup>27</sup>

We suggest a hypothesis from this account of crowds that the Prime Minister was attracting "new" and "undecided" voters as did Mr. Diefenbaker in 1957. We also suggest that the N.D.P. and Conservative crowds consisted mainly of already "committed" party supporters. Perhaps the Edmonton Centre Voting Study<sup>28</sup> may be able to confirm or reject our hypothesis at its completion.

At the open air rally in Edmonton Prime Minister Trudeau told the crowd that he would re-introduce the Criminal Code Amendment Bill in the next Parliament.<sup>29</sup> On national unity he said, "we are not talking about two nations or two states, we are talking about one Canada with two languages . . . we do not want any special status for Quebec. The Quebec people only want equal rights." On defence he said that Canada should have most of its military commitment on this continent. "If we have a third world war, God forbid, it will be fought in the skies over the United States and Canada."<sup>30</sup>

Mr. Stanfield's rally speech concentrated more on the economic problems than Trudeau's. He said, "It is a

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., June 19, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup>Being carried out by Professors Baird, Harvey and Johnson at the University of Alberta, Edmonton.

<sup>29</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 5, 1968, p. 61.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., June 5, 1968, p. 61.





simple fact of life that we can do nothing in Canada until we restore the economy . . . inflation must be controlled and Canada must develop its own resources." On the Carter Commission Report his comment was, "Our party flatly rejects the Carter Report recommendation to abolish tax incentives for resource development . . . I believe we must maintain incentives competitive to those which prevail in other countries particularly in the U.S." Stanfield supported a crude oil pipeline link to refineries in the East only if they were competitive and did not leave the East at a price disadvantage. On welfare he expounded his party's aim to "stop the waste of lives, stop the waste of money, stop perpetuating dependents on public welfare," and urged for greater efficiency.<sup>31</sup>

Mr. Stanfield ended his speech by attacking Trudeau. "He said he would form a government and didn't. He said we didn't need a snap election and called one. He said he would make no promises and made 80 of them."<sup>32</sup>

Mr. Douglas' rally speech also dealt mainly with economic issues but the emphasis was on controlling the economy. He called for the establishment of a Canada Development Corporation which would draw some of its funds from "trustees" who hold Canadians' savings and which

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., June 12, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., June 12, 1968, p. 2.



would help regain control of the Canadian economy from foreign corporations. Mr. Douglas advocated a Prices Review Board to justify increases of prices by corporations. He also called for proper economic planning to "pull Canada out of the disastrous ups and downs that plague our economy." He ended his speech by giving priority to employment first and secondly to house building.<sup>33</sup>

In order to assess the popularity of the various national leaders and indirectly their impact (if we assume it is related to popularity) on the electorate we shall use surveys conducted by Peter Regenstrief and the Gallup Poll. This will give us at least some indication of the effect of the party leaders on the "Edmonton Centre" electorate, this in turn affecting the candidates' chances.

Mr. Regenstrief's survey<sup>34</sup> conducted in the latter part of May and the beginning of June asked the vote intentions of the electorate. In order to assess the popularity of leaders apart from party preferences he asked, "Forgetting for the moment which party you happen to prefer or like right now, which of the following men do you think would make the best Prime Minister for Canada right now-- Pierre Trudeau, Robert Stanfield or T. C. Douglas?"<sup>35</sup> The

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., June 15, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>34</sup>Albertan (Calgary), June 18, 1968, p. 8.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 8.



results were as following.

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TABLE I  
PREFERENCE FOR PRIME MINISTER

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|           |     |  |  |  |  |
|-----------|-----|--|--|--|--|
| Trudeau   | 42% |  |  |  |  |
| Stanfield | 27% |  |  |  |  |
| Douglas   | 11% |  |  |  |  |
| Others    | 3%  |  |  |  |  |
| Undecided | 17% |  |  |  |  |

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| Preference<br>by Region | Atlantic | Quebec | Ontario | Prairies | B.C. |
|-------------------------|----------|--------|---------|----------|------|
| Trudeau                 | 22       | 51     | 43      | 36       | 43   |
| Stanfield               | 58       | 24     | 23      | 29       | 21   |
| Douglas                 | 8        | 3      | 11      | 19       | 20   |
| Others                  | 1        | 3      | 2       | 4        | 4    |
| Undecided               | 11       | 19     | 21      | 12       | 12   |
| TOTAL                   | 100      | 100    | 100     | 100      | 100  |

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On the national level Trudeau was by far the most popular. We will have to assume that the Prairie analysis will hold at least partially good for our own city and constituency. We see that the popularity of both Mr. Stanfield and Mr. Douglas was higher in the Prairies than the national average, 29% and 19% compared to 27% and 11%.





Mr. Trudeau's popularity was in the Prairies well below the national average: 36% compared to 42%. However, in absolute percentages Mr. Trudeau was far ahead of the others. We can hypothesize that both Mr. Stanfield and Mr. Douglas had greater appeal to the party faithfuls in the Prairies than was the case nationally and that "Trudeaumania" affected the Prairies less than the nation.

The same study showed that on the national scale Trudeau was favoured for his youth 32%, "new" ideas 27% and his intelligence 17%. He also received credit for being "straightforward" 14%, aggressive and dynamic 13% and for doing more for "Canadian unity" 12%.

Mr. Stanfield was admired for his experience 31%, maturity 14%, honesty and sincerity 13% and for his understanding his country's problems 11%.

Mr. Douglas was liked because of experience 21%, because he was more for the working class 18% and because his supporters want the "old parties out" 16%.

These are only crude measurements but at least give us some idea of the "image" projected by the leaders. It is not too farfetched to suppose that the electorate of Edmonton Centre did not differ too greatly from the national average. The Edmonton Centre Election Study should be able to clarify the position on its completion.

One interesting aspect that emerged from the Regenstrief survey was the close relationship between the



leadership question and party voting intentions.

TABLE 2

## PERCENTAGE PARTY VOTE INTENTION AND LEADERSHIP

| Vote<br>Intention<br>Preference | Liberal | P.C. | N.D.P. | S.C. | Undecided |
|---------------------------------|---------|------|--------|------|-----------|
| Trudeau                         | 80      | 9    | 14     | 15   | 24        |
| Stanfield                       | 6       | 78   | 7      | 17   | 15        |
| Douglas                         | 4       | 3    | 64     | 13   | 4         |
| Others                          | 1       | 2    | 4      | 17   | 3         |
| Undecided                       | 10      | 8    | 10     | 38   | 54        |
| TOTAL                           | 100     | 100  | 100    | 100  | 100       |

80% of those who intended to vote Liberal preferred Trudeau; 78% of Conservative intenders preferred Stanfield; and 64% of N.D.P. intenders preferred Douglas. These statistics show very close correspondence between parties' popularity and their leaders' popularity. In other words, the leaders are not a "burden" and do not turn voters away from their parties. In the 1960's and especially in the 1965 campaign, to use Regenstrief's words, "Lester Pearson and John Diefenbaker were impediments against voting for their parties."<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup>Albertan (Calgary), June 18, 1968, p. 8.



Examining the N.D.P. vote intenders we find that 14% preferred Mr. Trudeau while only 7% preferred Mr. Stanfield. The Social Creditors on the other hand leaned slightly more towards Stanfield, 17%, than to Trudeau, 15%. The undecided were more in favour of Trudeau than Stanfield.

So far we have analysed leader preference, vote intention and leader preference. Let us now look at party-candidate preference and try to find any discrepancies. Gallup<sup>37</sup> over time did a study of party voting preference by asking the following question. "If a Federal election were held today, which party's candidate do you think you would favour?" The results are shown below.

TABLE 3

## PARTY-VOTING PREFERENCE

| Vote                                   | Party | Lib. | P.C. | N.D.P. | Others |
|----------------------------------------|-------|------|------|--------|--------|
| Actual vote 1965                       |       | 40   | 33   | 13     | 9      |
| Oct. 1967 (Post Cons.<br>Convention)   |       | 32   | 43   | 17     | 6      |
| March 1968 (Pre-Lib.<br>Lead. Conven.) |       | 42   | 34   | 16     | 8      |
| May 1968 (Post-Lib.<br>Lead. Conven.)  |       | 50   | 29   | 16     | 5      |
| End of May 1968                        |       | 46   | 29   | 15     | 10     |

<sup>37</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 8, 1968, p. 6.





The sample was taken of eligible voters with a party preference; i.e., the undecided were left out. After the Conservative Convention in October 1967 there was a sharp increase for Conservatives--33% to 43%. In March 1968 the support for the Liberals and Conservatives was very close to the actual vote in 1965. However by the end of May 1968 in the wake of the Liberal Convention, the Liberals' popularity jumped to 46%. Thus we can assert that the conventions led to greater interest in the parties amongst the voters and that this interest was carried into the election especially for the Liberals. Furthermore, there were no large discrepancies between preference for Prime Minister among the leaders<sup>38</sup> and the party preference by the end of May 1968.

Influence of the national leaders is seen in the free publicity that a candidate receives from his party leader's presence. When Mr. Trudeau addressed the rally at City Hall, Edmonton Liberal candidates obtained "exposure" by being seen near him. He even referred several times to Mr. Don Gray as "my candidate in Edmonton Centre".<sup>39</sup> Mr. Paproski also obtained similar "exposure" when he carried Mrs. Stanfield across a pool of water.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> See table on p. 107.

<sup>39</sup> Edmonton Journal, June 5, 1968, p. 61.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., June 12, 1968, p. 1.



In addition, Tory candidates and their wives were introduced to the jam-packed audience at Jubilee Auditorium where Mr. Stanfield's speech was relayed to the lobby on closed-circuit television. Dr. Dolman, the New Democratic Party candidate, also had a similar chance during the Douglas rally when he was allowed, as were the other Edmonton N.D.P. candidates, to give a five minute speech prior to Mr. Douglas' main speech. Dr. Dolman and his family also obtained "exposure" at a joint press conference and fund-raising breakfast at Buffalo Bill's. The then Mayor Vince Dantzer of Edmonton presented Mr. Douglas with a Klondike hat. The incident was televised and the other media were represented by twelve reporters and a radio newscaster.

Prominent Leaders and Meetings. In addition to national leaders, prominent party and civic leaders also try to enlist support for the local candidates. Once again we could argue that it is the convinced party man who in the first instance attends such meetings, reinforcing his beliefs.

Mr. Don Jamieson, a Newfoundland Liberal, sitting M.P. for Burin Burges and a former President of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, campaigned on behalf of Mr. Don Gray, the Liberal candidate. On 24th May he addressed a graduation ceremony at the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology and later, at a press conference, while talking about Mr. Trudeau, compared his appeal to the young to the



"identification" that the youth of America had felt with both Jack and Bobby Kennedy.<sup>41</sup> Later in the evening Mr. Jamieson spoke to a group of sixty (mainly residents in the apartment) at a coffee party in the Avord Arms social room on behalf of Mr. Gray and advised the candidate to push the image of Trudeau as the charismatic factor and to avoid specific issues while campaigning.

Mr. Marcel Faribault, the late Daniel Johnson's special economic and constitutional adviser, the Conservative Party's Quebec lieutenant, and himself a candidate in Montreal, addressed the annual meeting of the Alberta Chamber of Commerce on 28th May. His address was centred around "special" status for Quebec and the theory of two nations. He summarised the latter in these words, trying to explain the Conservative position.

This is therefore the meaning of two nations for a French Canadian. He is a member of two nations, equally deeply. As a Canadian he will not renounce Canada. As a French Canadian, he will not renounce his language and his culture and the political means to foster them. He can reconcile and accomplish both in a federal regime and in no other way. And this is why constitutional matters are of so much import to him, why he feels so deeply the inconsistencies in our present constitutional provisions and practices, and wants them changed in order to become a full fledged partner, as he is willing to be. This partnership he has always considered a perpetual one, but never as an inexorable or inflexible one.<sup>42</sup>

Mr. Faribault added that Quebec was no more a nation than

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<sup>41</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 25, 1968, p. 7.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., May 28, 1968, p. 9.





the Eskimo or the Indian. He then suggested that the British North America Act was obsolete and only served the best interests of the British Empire. On Federal-Provincial relations he expounded that the Federal power cannot be an autocrat and refuse consultation and participation with the provinces.

Mr. Joe Greene, the then colourful Minister of Agriculture, lent his support to the Edmonton Liberal candidates, all of whom--including Mr. Don Gray of Edmonton Centre--were present at the meeting held at Jasper Place Composite High School on 31st May at 8:45 p.m. Mr. J. Gardiner estimated the crowd at about 350 strong<sup>43</sup> while the local newspaper counted 600.<sup>44</sup>

Mr. Greene, a good orator, attacked Mr. Stanfield's record as Premier of Nova Scotia and as a business executive. He suggested that the Conservatives were too inexperienced and incapable to be worthy of government. Their record was not as good as they would have the public believe. In fact it was a "myth".<sup>45</sup> Mr. Greene praised former Prime Minister Diefenbaker's stand on "the great issue facing Canadians--unity" and added that the Stanfield-Faribault two-nation concept would mean the end of Canada.

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<sup>43</sup>Mr. J. Gardiner had kindly volunteered to attend this meeting and take notes on the author's behalf.

<sup>44</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 1, 1968, p. 8.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 8.



In contrast, he stressed Trudeau's background as a constitutional lawyer of excellence and as a Frenchman uniquely qualified to lead Canada forward in a new age. The N.D.P., he felt, was not worth bothering about as it was a "dead horse". During the question period Mr. Greene blamed the high rates of interest on the Vietnam War and urged both business and unions to cut down expenditure. On the Carter Commission on Taxation Mr. Greene replied that it would not be implemented as a whole but would receive selective treatment.<sup>46</sup>

The N.D.P. was helped in its campaign by Mr. William Dennison, the present Mayor of Toronto, while attending a convention of the Federation of Mayors and Municipalities in Edmonton. Mr. Dennison was a C.C.F. member of the Ontario Legislature during the years 1943-5 and 1947-51, while retaining his aldermanic post since 1937. He delivered one speech each on behalf of Edmonton East, Strathcona and Centre N.D.P. candidates. About thirty-five people attended each meeting. He dealt with inflation, attacked the Liberal Party as unrepresentative of the people, and advised the candidates to get out and work hard canvassing among the people.<sup>47</sup>

The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Mitchell Sharp,

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<sup>46</sup>Mr. J. Gardiner, op. cit.

<sup>47</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 4, 1968, p. 15.



campaigned on behalf of the Liberal candidates in Edmonton in the Students Union Building at the University of Alberta to a motley crowd of five hundred people. Two Edmonton Liberal candidates, Dr. Hu Harries and Mr. T. Miller, were present while Mr. Shewchuk and Mr. D. Gray were absent.<sup>48</sup> The meeting was quiet with no heckling.<sup>49</sup> The External Affairs Minister divided his thirty-minute-speech and the question period evenly among his former finance portfolio, his present portfolio and his admiration for Prime Minister Trudeau.

On foreign affairs he said that Canada will limit the number of countries she aids in order to maximise the effectiveness of the aid. These countries included those in the West Indies, Francophone countries--mainly in Africa--and the countries already helped under the Colombo Plan. The aim was to check U.S. influence in the West Indies and France's influence in her former colonies.<sup>50</sup>

Commenting on Mr. Trudeau, Mr. Sharp praised his ability to involve people in politics, his honesty, his profound faith in Canada and his clear knowledge of what one Canada meant.<sup>51</sup> Mr. Sharp also dealt briefly with

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<sup>48</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 11, 1968, p. 6.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 6.





medicare and urged the people to vote for Trudeau and the Liberal Party.

Mixed Forums. The distinction for us between coffee parties and mixed forums during this election seemed to get "blurred". Some forums served coffee and some coffee parties invited all candidates! Thus, we will consider one-candidate coffee parties under the "candidate's campaign".

Forums were sponsored by organisations interested in finding out and influencing the position of the candidates. The rules varied, but essentially candidates were asked to state their positions and then answer questions. It seemed that there were not many such meetings as candidates were more interested in "exposing" themselves rather than in discussing issues and policies.

Soon after the nominations had been settled a forum for the four Edmonton Centre candidates was held by the Christian Action Foundation<sup>52</sup> at Alberta College. Mr. Lambert, M.P., Edmonton West, P.C., replaced Mr. Paproski and Mr. Hawrelak remained unrepresented. The candidates were asked to deal with questions referring to their parties' principles, the place of Scripture in political organisations, and the role of minority groups. Two hundred people attended the forum. On the question of the Indian and Metis problem, all the candidates admitted to not having

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<sup>52</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 11, 1968, p. 6.



given enough thought to solving the problem. Mr. Lambert disagreed with abortion in these words, "I disagree entirely with the proposed abortion legislation and I intend to vote against it."<sup>53</sup> A question on housing was ruled out of order and the chairman then went into a long harangue attacking the socialists for being atheists.

Another mixed forum was held on the 16th of June at St. Edmund's Parish Hall, 119th Street and 129th Avenue, which drew a small but interested crowd.<sup>54</sup> The audience talked to candidates and asked questions eagerly. A woman asked Mr. Hawrelak how he could effectively represent Edmonton Centre from the opposition side of the House of Commons. His answer, "I have to be free to speak for the people of Edmonton Centre."<sup>55</sup> Dr. Dolman discussed heckling with a man and his wife: ". . . the worst is a zero. The one thing you can't beat is indifference." He also praised young people for their involvement. Mr. Paproski was taken to task by several people on the questions of American money in Canada, financing and school taxes. Another woman wanted to know whether the charges against Mr. Trudeau in the "hate" literature were true.

Royal Alexandra School of Nursing held its own

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>54</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 17, 1968, p. 9.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 9.



"mixed forum" attended by twenty-five student nurses. The main "topic" seemed to be the personality of the present Prime Minister. Mr. Gray, praising Mr. Trudeau, suggested that he was a man of few promises. It was better to make four or five promises and keep them than make eighty-two promises and not to live up to them. Dr. Dolman felt that regardless of promises no man could live up to the political image built up by Mr. Trudeau.<sup>56</sup> Independent Liberal Mr. Hawrelak called himself a Trudeau man but promised to make an attempt to change some of the P.M.'s policies if he was voted into Parliament. Mr. Paproski criticised the Liberals for their emphasis on national unity, insisting that this was all that the Liberal Party had been talking about in its campaign, although there were other things of major concern to Canada.

The last of the mixed forums was more lively and thorough-going than had hitherto been the case. The four candidates addressed eighty people gathered at Lauderdale Community Hall, 12937 - 107th Street, at 8 p.m. on 19th of June. Each candidate was allowed to talk for fifteen minutes and this was followed by written questions and then verbal ones.

Mr. Paproski, the first speaker, lashed out at the Liberals for not having any concrete proposals but for

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<sup>56</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 19, 1968, p. 63.





harping upon Mr. Trudeau's image. He felt that the "Canadian economy was in a bad way; the government had spent recklessly, forcing up the cost of living; the housing industry was stagnant--the Economic Council had recommended 200,000 homes per year, N.H.A. rates of interest had gone up 2% since the last year to 9% and average prices of a house had gone up to \$23,500." He mentioned the rising unemployment. His remedies were to cut down Federal spending through curbs on construction by Federal agencies, to implement the Glasco and Watkins Reports and to exact a capital gains tax following the Carter Report! On the French-Canadian question, Mr. Paproski supported Mr. Faribault whom he referred to as a "nationalist and a Federalist." He saw Canada as a multicultural society, and, citing the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, he urged that ethnic groups be allowed to develop their distinct culture in their own areas. Mr. Paproski then left the meeting early due to a prior engagement.

Dr. Dolman, the next speaker, castigated the other parties who dwelt on "personalities" while the N.D.P. was the only party dealing with "bread and butter issues". On taxation he pointed out that the implementation of the Carter Commission Report would benefit those people earning less than \$10,000 per year, whose taxes would be reduced, while bringing in a revenue of \$1,000,000,000 per year



through a capital gains tax on insurance companies. On housing Dr. Dolman argued vehemently against land speculation which should be discouraged by legislation as in Britain. Further, he advocated government built and subsidised housing for those earning less than \$6,000 per year. Dr. Dolman reiterated his party's full support for medicare and cited in its favour the inclusion of drugs whose prices have sky-rocketed. He urged regulation of drug companies some of whom made profits up to 2,800% per annum. On foreign ownership in Canada Dr. Dolman cited the Watkins Report showing, "Sixty percent of Canadian resources as being owned by the United States." He urged that we have 51% control of our own industries. Investments will flow in wherever there is profit to be made. He ended his speech on a very passionate note: "Support me for something has to be done. I will stand by the N.D.P. until I die . . . even if I lose it is a matter of principle."

Mr. Gray's speech lacked in "issues" and "content" compared to those of others. He hammered at the Conservatives for deluding the electorate with their "two nation" concept. He scoffed at the "guaranteed income" notion as enumerated by Stanfield. For housing he felt that a second mortgage should be tax deductible. He ended his speech by urging the people to strive for greater export targets and by urging greater fiscal responsibility in taxation and governmental expenditures.



Mr. Hawrelak's speech mainly dealt with the "irregularities" of the Liberal nominating convention. He said that he was an Independent Liberal because 200 fellow Canadians were turned away at the convention. These injustices he felt bred "contempt for our democratic principles". Then he stressed his past services as Mayor of the City of Edmonton. He briefly dealt with Canada as "one nation . . . with a multicultural background", and with the shortage and high cost of housing (without offering any specific remedies). He ended his speech by saying that his party considerations come second to the interests of Edmonton Centre.

The question period brought out the candidates' view on far-ranging subjects, including foreign relations, election expenses and party finances, the role of the armed forces and ownership of Canadian resources. Finally the meeting ended with questions about private enterprise and socialism.

#### 4. Issues and Views

Wading through the issues discussed at the various meetings we drew up the following frequency distribution of issues discussed.





TABLE 4

## ISSUES DISCUSSED AT MEETINGS

| Issues                                           | Meetings | Leaders and<br>Prominent members | Candidates | Total |
|--------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------------------------|------------|-------|
| The Indian question                              |          | 1                                | 1          | 2     |
| Quebec and national unity                        |          | 3                                | 3          | 6     |
| B.N.A. Act                                       |          | 2                                | -          | 2     |
| Foreign policy                                   |          | 2                                | 1          | 3     |
| United States influence                          |          | 1                                | 2          | 3     |
| Trudeau's personality                            |          | 3                                | 3          | 6     |
| Cost of living / rate of<br>interest / inflation |          | 3                                | 2          | 5     |
| Housing                                          |          | 1                                | 6          | 7     |
| Carter Commission Report                         |          | 2                                | 3          | 5     |
| Medicare                                         |          | 2                                | 1          | 3     |
| Criminal Code Amendment                          |          | 1                                | 1          | 2     |
| Convention "irregularities"                      |          | -                                | 1          | 1     |

In terms of frequency of discussion, housing ranked as the foremost issue discussed by the candidates. If we lump the seventh, eighth and ninth issues as economic, then by far the largest number of discussions were on economic matters. Our finding agrees with Mr. Regenstrief's survey<sup>57</sup> which, on a national level, found that high taxes, housing and cost of living were very high in public concern.

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<sup>57</sup>Albertan (Calgary), June 21, 1968, p. 1.



In our frequency distribution the question is second only to housing. Our findings differ slightly from Mr. Regenstein's in that the question of Mr. Trudeau's personality was discussed as frequently as the questions of national unity or housing. This is probably indicative of "Trudeau-mania".

It is interesting to note that the Indian question and the War in Vietnam were neglected during the campaign. The "irregularities" at the convention and other local issues seem to have been relegated completely to the background.

The candidates were asked by the author "What do you consider is the main issue in this election?"

Mr. Paproski: "National unity is not the main issue but the bread and butter things like cost of living and housing."

Mr. Gray: "The main issue is constitutional; as the debate has now evolved, it is special status vs. one nation. I believe, as Trudeau, in equal power for all provinces."

Mr. Hawrelak: "The crucial issue is the problem of unity. The French and English issue has overshadowed the existence of other minorities that have been left out, e.g. Germans, Poles, Ukrainians, Italians, etc."

Dr. Dolman: "The main issues are economic, cost of living, rate of interest, food and housing. The second most important is the existence of Canada itself; internally, the question of Quebec and the rest of Canada, and, externally, United States' ownership of Canadian resources."

Both the Tory and N.D.P. candidates stressed the bread and butter issues while the two "Liberals" saw national



unity as the main issue. We conjecture that traditionally the Liberals have benefitted from constitutional issues<sup>58</sup> and that therefore they select the issue consciously or subconsciously instead of economic issues.

The author interviewed the candidates and also obtained their views from T.V. and radio transcriptions.

Housing. Dr. Dolman's solution for the lower income groups earning \$4,000 or less was to provide federally financed public housing. The \$4,000 - \$8,000 group should be helped with government loans at a reasonable rate of interest of about 6%, which would compete with the "free market" rate.

Mr. Hawrelak agreed that there was a critical shortage of housing for people earning \$5,000 to \$6,000. Further, employment is created by an increase in the rate of building and unemployment is highest in the low income bracket. Mr. Hawrelak therefore argued that more research was necessary in this area.

Mr. Gray suggested that insurance companies (which were at that time not taxed) should be taxed at the same level as other corporations. He advocated tax deductions for small home owners as an incentive and argued that the government could find revenue for housing by greater efficiency in expenditure.

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<sup>58</sup>P. Regenstrief's study in Albertan (Calgary), June 20, 1968, p. 1.





United States Ownership. Dr. Dolman advocated first that foreign ownership be limited to 49%. Japan and Mexico have been operating this way without any ill effects on foreign investment. In some industries United States companies already own greater percentages and in that case the Government of Canada ought to force these companies to divest some of their shares. Second, Dr. Dolman advocated the development of Canadian owned branches to increase competition, and third, the establishment of a Crown Industrial Corporation to help industrial development.

Mr. Gray: "Economic unity does not necessarily lead to political unity. This is where George Ball, the U.S. Secretary of State did not do his homework. The E.E.C. is cooperating economically very closely together but this does not mean that Germany, the economically dominant partner, also dominates political decisions. France's "independent" policy bears witness. We need capital to develop our resources and the Americans possess this; in turn the Americans have markets for our raw products. However, American firms should be good corporate citizens. The same argument is used by international unions who act in the same way--both should be good Canadian citizens and independent legislation should be passed to facilitate this independence."

Mr. Hawrelak felt that Canada presently needs capital. The United States in her early stages of economic



development needed capital which was provided by Britain. Once she had developed, investments from Britain dried up and the United States herself became a net exporter of capital. Similarly, we in Canada need American capital. Much of Canadian savings goes into United States securities and mutual funds which are reinvested in Canada. "We must encourage Canadian investment but not discourage United States capital."

Election Expenses and Party Finances.<sup>59</sup> Mr. Gray

felt that expenses and contributions should be open to scrutiny but argued that this may hamper "the secret ballot".

Dr. Dolman held the view that no scrutiny was necessary for contributions below \$100; anything above that should be declared. In 1965 though "officially" both Liberals and Conservatives were in the red, within two weeks both managed to raise four million dollars and three million dollars respectively. Contrary to popular belief, the N.D.P. is not controlled financially by the unions, who contribute only 19% to 20%. The rest comes from individual contributors.

Mr. Hawrelak's opinion was that a limit should be placed on election expenses and urged that a Judicial Committee be set up.

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<sup>59</sup>From Question Period at Lauderdale Community Hall Forum, June 19, 1968.



Cost of Living. Mr. Gray saw it as a world-wide problem connected with international money flows which raise the long-term rate of interest. International peace he felt would lower the rate of interest in Canada. Internally, to keep the cost of living "in line", he proposed seminars and cooperation among provincial, federal and municipal authorities. Another aspect contributing to the cost of living in Canada was the "breaking down" of the bargaining system. "Big unions U.A.W. and A.F.O.-C.I.O. are carving out the G.N.P. for themselves. How long can we say to nurses and teachers that they have moral obligations not to strike while letting the Big 3 strike?" Mr. Gray recommended a system of compulsory arbitration and conciliation, as in Australia, as a means of combating inflation. In addition he recommended that the case of unions could be pleaded in courts who would decide the final settlement.

Foreign Policy. Dr. Dolman on China: "We must recognise Red China and forget about Taiwan if that was the ultimate choice. Otherwise we must recognise them both and admit them to the United Nations."

On NORAD: "We must get out of this agreement. It is obsolete and by committing us to one side or the other makes us more liable to attack. We should be a neutral country." Similar reasoning was applied to NATO and OAS.

On Vietnam: "The war is continued being waged for economic reasons, therefore Canada should stop shipment of





arms as at least a token gesture."

Mr. Hawrelak on China: "China should be admitted to the U.N. We cannot ignore a nation of 600 millions." He did not go into intricacies of United States reaction and the problem of Taiwan.

On NORAD: "It is a good thing. Somebody has to defend Canada. If the U.S.S.R. fights with the U.S. then it would be fought on Canadian land. Therefore Canada has to be defended."

On NATO: "Canada should stay in." However he did not justify his stand or elaborate any further.

On Vietnam: "Canada should take whatever steps she can to stop the war. It is naïve to believe that U.S. will change its policies by Canada not shipping basic metals and arms."

Mr. Gray on NATO: "The role of NATO should be re-examined."

On NORAD: "The agreement should be renewed since it acts as a deterrent. Without any commitments countries of the world act as "children" without any rules."

Mr. Paproski on NATO: "The agreement was signed thirteen years ago and therefore troops should not be immediately withdrawn but a review of the policy should be undertaken."

Dr. Dolman was the only candidate who appeared on a hot line radio programme with five other candidates. The



rest of his views, listed below, were transcribed from this programme.

Question: If you are elected what would you do about Bill C-186 which Mr. Trudeau will bring in if elected and which he solicited in the last government?

Answer: This is the bill concerned with labour unions. We support the labour unions as is well known. We, generally speaking, do not feel that in this day and age when businessman, corporations, etc., are getting bigger all the time, the average man can afford, as the unions represent him at the negotiating table, to be split and divided. We have to keep up this balancing force against big business and industry.

Question: I have heard many times Mr. Douglas run down American organisations. Yet it is a well known fact that most unions in Canada are American based. Why do you people support such organisations?

Answer: In Canada the economy is controlled by the large American corporation. It is physically impossible for any working man to negotiate with these corporations except through a body similar to themselves--an international union. If Canada's economy itself was truly Canadian I think that we in the N.D.P. will be very happy to see truly Canadian unions to negotiate with Canadian businesses.

Question: What would you do about the drug law?

Answer: If the question means laws concerning the cost of drugs, our stand has been clear. There has been tremendous profiteering in connection with drugs up to 20,000-odd percent profit.

If the gentleman refers to laws connected with the use of marijuana and L.S.D., laws possibly could help the situation but this is more a social than a legal problem.

Question: What would your government do to support the interest on student loans until such



time as a student is able to commence payment on the principal and accept responsibility?

Answer:

This is a feature of the present education policy with which we take objection for the reason that at the time when a student is required to pay back a loan is probably the worst time in his whole career to find the money for him to do so. Therefore we will work towards a long-term system whereby rather than make loans we will have free university education in the same manner we have free public education, and eventually payments to students, particularly married ones, while they are studying.

## 5. The Candidates' Campaigns

1. Personal. The commencement of candidates' campaigns may be acknowledged by their taking leave from work.<sup>60</sup> Three candidates were self-employed, i.e., managed their own businesses or profession, and therefore did not need to obtain official "leave". The fourth candidate, with the tacit approval of his firm, managed to obtain leave just before the party nominations were held.

The candidates' day began early--they were up by 6:30 and spent two hours meeting the early morning rush traffic in order to show themselves.<sup>61</sup> Originally authorities had objected to this "jay-walking" but, after they had a dialogue with Mr. Paproski, "special" permission was granted to the candidates to campaign on street corners. Mr. Paproski at first stood around the corner of 116th

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<sup>60</sup> Janosik, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>61</sup> See Edmonton Journal, June 6, 1968, p. 34, for a full picture at a street corner.





Street and 111th Avenue and later moved down to 105th Street and 107th Avenue. Many motorists were familiar with his "board" and nodded at him or waved their hands. Mr. Gray campaigned in the vicinity of Princess Elizabeth Avenue and 102nd Street and used a loudspeaker to greet the motorists.<sup>62</sup> Mr. Gray also used the "Trudeau" technique in the late afternoons and evenings of shouting through loudspeakers at shopping centres.

Around 9:00 the candidates returned to headquarters, were briefed on the day's activities, breakfasted, read the paper and attended to "chores" like photos for campaign, etc., or prepared their speeches. Any available time was spent on door-to-door canvassing.

At noon the candidates addressed some kind of a luncheon meeting. Mr. Paproski on the day we were with him<sup>63</sup> addressed the City Centre Cooperative Club for five minutes. This "club" provides food and shelter for the unemployed. He blamed the government for bad management of the economy, leading to unemployment, and advocated a guaranteed income and immigration on a quota basis.

Mr. Gray similarly addressed a luncheon of two hundred sponsored by the Advertising and Sales Club, Canadian Public Relations Society and Women's Press Club,

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<sup>62</sup>Thursday, 20th June, 1968.

<sup>63</sup>June 19, 1968.



at the Embers Club.<sup>64</sup> All speakers were Liberal candidates running in Edmonton. He emphasized the unity of Canada and its multiculturalism and fully supported "democracy" even with some of its aberrations.

In the afternoons the candidates rested for a while and prepared for meetings in the evening or canvassed in various areas in the early evening and late afternoons. This was a very exhaustive pace and was kept up for two months. Dr. Dolman in addition participated in radio programmes whenever the opportunity arose.

2. The Media. The campaign, in addition to personal campaigns of the candidates and canvassing, is also carried out through "publicity stunts", advertising and coverage by the various mass media of communication. The importance of the latter is seen if we realise that more than half the amount of campaign budgets of the candidates were spent on the "media". Mr. Hawrelak handed over his whole media side to the public relations firm of Goodes, Goldberg and Soren of Calgary, spending \$16,352.82. Mr. Gray spent \$10,840.00, Mr. Paproski \$8,388.96 and Dr. Dolman \$1,029.06.<sup>65</sup>

(i) Miscellaneous Display. Mr. Hawrelak acquired six large billboards across the city placed in

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<sup>64</sup>June 20, 1968.

<sup>65</sup>Forms 61-11-65-3M from the Returning Officer.



strategic positions where the traffic could take note of them. Mr. Paproski's billboards were more numerous than the other candidates'. One was along Jasper Avenue, the main shopping centre and the "hub" of the City of Edmonton. However, Mr. Hawrelak made up for the lack of billboards by renting fifty bus boards for two weeks. The boards were displayed on Edmonton Transit System buses running mainly in his constituency and the downtown area. Mr. Gray also competed in the billboard race but concentrated more on large posters with Trudeau in the background, while Dr. Dolman was content with lawn signs and small posters.

Hawrelak campaign men believed in a "literature blitz" and ordered 1,200 posters of varying sizes and colours. In addition he had five hundred 7" x 18" cards printed and 45,000 smaller cards for canvassers. To attract the ethnic voter he printed a letter soliciting his vote in English, Italian, Greek, Chinese, German and Ukrainian.<sup>66</sup> Mr. Hawrelak's expenditure on printed campaign material amounted to \$3,500 compared to a similar amount by Mr. Gray, \$2,500 by Mr. Paproski and \$507 by Dr. Dolman.

During the campaign there was the inevitable "battle of signs" among the enthusiasts of the Liberals and the Conservatives. The battle wounds varied "from holes punched in the candidate's eyes to a moustache painted on

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<sup>66</sup>Sample letter on p. 135.





*Wm. Hawrelak*  
*8730-126th Street*  
*Edmonton, Alberta*

My Dear Fellow Canadian:

As you can understand, it is physically impossible for me to visit every one of you at this time and discuss my platform in this election as an Independent Liberal Candidate. I have asked my co-workers to call on you and leave with you a copy of my policies and at the same time ask you for your support and vote on June 25th.

I am convinced that my knowledge of the problems of Edmonton Centre and my experience in working for the people will enable me to give you a stronger and a more effective voice in Parliament on matters so dear and precious to all of us in Edmonton.

Your vote will make it possible for me to work and speak on your behalf without fear or favor. I want to help to bring about a better place in which to live as a Canadian with equal opportunities to all regardless of race, color or religion.

Thank you for the privilege of presenting myself in this way, I  
am,



the opponent's face or an opposing candidate's sticker poster on his mouth."<sup>67</sup> Both candidates realised that the culprits were their workers and blamed their own over-enthusiastic young workers and called each other up and made a gentleman's agreement not to remove the other's posters or damage them. It seemed that the posters of Mr. Hawrelak and Dr. Dolman were left unmolested--relatively speaking.

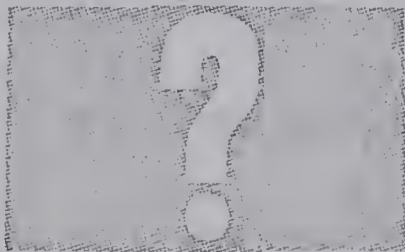
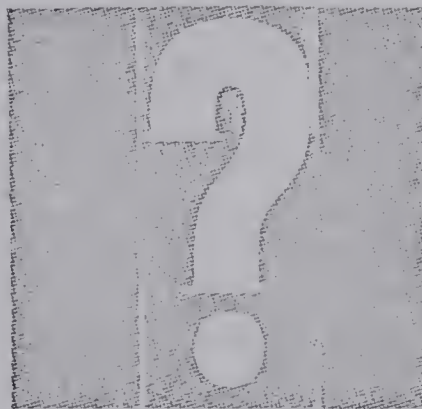
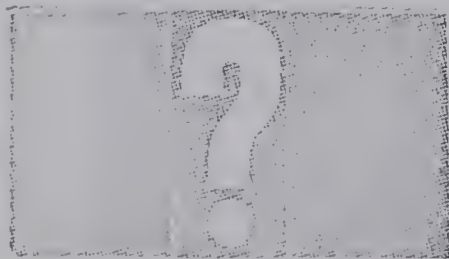
(ii) Newspapers and Periodicals. All the candidates advertised extensively in the only daily newspaper in Edmonton. The peak was reached in the last week and especially in the two or three days before the polling day. Mr. Paproski bought a full-page advertisement (costing \$1,140) which consisted mainly of photographs of him in various capacities as a leader, executive, football player, etc.<sup>68</sup> Dr. Dolman's advertisement consisted of a series of question marks leading to questions and answers, as illustrated below.

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<sup>67</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 8, 1968, p. 6.

<sup>68</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 22, 1968.





Do you believe in  
ONE LAND—  
ONE PEOPLE—  
ONE CANADA?

Who do you think is to blame for Canada's economic situation? Are you satisfied with the government's handling of the housing crisis? Do you know that the Carter Commission says YOU pay too much income tax?

Dr. Norm DOLMAN is 42 years of age and a family man — a local Optometrist — Vice-President of the Alberta New Democrats.

Born into a coal-mining family he says: "The Liberals and Conservatives are like a man holding four aces — THEY ARE NOT GOING TO CALL FOR A NEW DEAL!"

**DOLMAN**  
EDMONTON CENTRE  
NEW DEMOCRAT

Committee rooms 10121A  
107 Avenue, 422-7877





Both Mr. Hawrelak and Mr. Gray chose small advertisements appearing over a period of two weeks, as illustrated below.

**MEET  
DON GRAY**



**PERSONALLY ENDORSED BY  
PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU**

**YOUR TRUDEAU/LIBERAL  
FOR EDMONTON CENTRE**

- Canadian born -- 44 years old, married with 8 children.
- Owner of the Alberta Mack truck business in Edmonton Centre.
- President of M & P Transport, nation-wide trucking firm with over 400 employees.
- Director of the Misericordia Hospital.
- Former chairman -- National Crusade for Canada's Retarded Children.
- Associated with United Community Fund.
- Member, Advisory Board, Business Dev. Course, University of Alberta.
- A veteran -- served overseas with the RCAP as a pilot.

**VOTE GRAY | X | ON JUNE 25th**

Mr. Gray also appeared in an advertisement showing the "Trudeau" group of Edmonton Liberals. Mr. Hawrelak bought around 6,000 lines of advertising in the local paper, spending \$2,843.

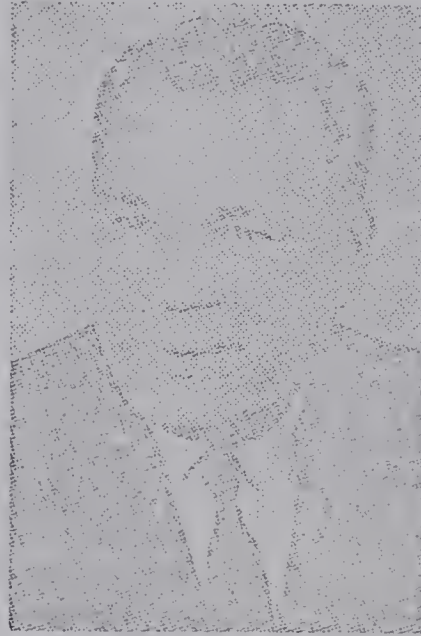


ELECT

INDEPENDENT LIBERAL

**BILL HAWRELAK**YOUR EDMONTON CENTRE  
REPRESENTATIVEA Man of Proven  
Dynamic ActionA Man who Speaks  
with Courage

For Trudeau ---

For  
Edmonton Centre**BILL HAWRELAK STANDS FOR:**

- A Federal Housing Program to meet the needs of all
- Federal aid for Urban Renewal and Transportation
- Greater development of our natural resources to the North
- Tax reductions through economy in government administration
- Reduction of unnecessary expenditures for Royal Commissions, etc.
- Personal income tax relief through allowable property tax deductions for home owners
- Increased precautions in air pollution control
- Parity prices for farmers
- Educational opportunities for all, irrespective of means
- Development of Human Resources
- A personal interest in the Welfare of ALL the people

NOTE:

HAWRELAK, WM. I X

ONE NATION WITH EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES  
FOR ALLHear Bill Hawrelak CFBN-TV Channel 3  
Tonight 11:00 - 11:30 p.m.

Published by the Edmonton Centre Hawrelak Committee.





In terms of "coverage" the Edmonton Journal gave coverage to all the Edmonton candidates--constituency by constituency. All four candidates made full use of this space, elaborating their views. The contents are found in the following "clips".

### Dr. N. Dolman, New Democrat

The people of Edmonton Centre have all the problems of living in the centre of a large city -- taxes, housing costs, interest rates, living costs and medical and dental bills.

They need a strong voice in Ottawa and one which will speak for them. I believe that they will win with a New Democrat in Ottawa.

As an optometrist (eye doctor) I am trained to hear people's problems and then to act on them. As a New Democrat I am dedicated to help bring down living costs by making manufacturers justify price increases in the same way that a worker has to justify an increase in his wages. I am dedicated to lowering the taxes of anyone earning less than \$10,000 per year by implementing the Carter Report and to bring down housing costs and interest rates by putting more government money into these fields.

Also, as a New Democrat and Canadian I believe in a strong federal government and a re-assessment of the constitution to bring federal-provincial relations into line with modern thinking.

I do not believe that our problems can be tackled by following in the footsteps of a glamorous new leader. I am a great admirer of Tommy Douglas but I suggest that it is the man you elect as your MP who represents you. An independent cannot face up to these problems because he lacks the backing of party colleagues. Neither will the old-line parties do it -- after all, they have been in power for 100 years already!

### Don Gray, Liberal

I entered this campaign as a Trudeau Liberal for Edmonton Centre with an honest and sincere desire to have a part in the new government of Canada and to place my enthusiasm and business experience at the disposal of the people of Edmonton Centre.

It's true that I'm a busy man. I'm president of a truck transport company that employs over 400 people. I'm raising a family of eight children and I am involved in several community projects. But you do not gain experience by standing still and it has always been said that if you want a job well done--ask a busy man to do it.

I am proud to be the candidate chosen by the Edmonton Centre Liberal Association to contest the new seat for them, and I agree with and affirm all of the programs and proposed reforms as outlined by Prime Minister Trudeau for a united, dynamic Canada.

I would also like to point out that I am the only candidate in Edmonton Centre endorsed and supported by Prime Minister Trudeau. All the voters in Edmonton Centre who wish to see Prime Minister Trudeau lead Canada into a fresh, new era will make sure they vote Don Gray on June 25.

We, as Liberals, are not trying to establish a government by vague and unrealistic promises and certainly not by promises that will mortgage the future of this great country of ours.

It is high time that we threw off the yoke of old, worn-out political philosophies and got on with the job of facing the very real problems and the securing of the solutions in our rapidly-changing times.

I intend to make the representation of the people of Edmonton Centre at Ottawa a full-time job. Further, when elected, I shall establish a permanent office in the constituency with the necessary staff to provide direct communication to Ottawa for my constituents.





## Wm. Hawrelak Ind. Liberal

As an Independent Liberal, I decided to run as a result of pressures from the people who were completely and utterly disgusted with the way the nominating elections were held on May 18th.

There were about 200 delegates at the meeting properly qualified who, through misdirection and trickery were denied the right to vote. The integrity of the clergy was also challenged. Prior to nominations, Senator Hastings, although indicating a free and open convention, threatened in a public statement to take some other course of action, should I be nominated. This was a contravention of our democratic principles and rights. The only avenue of protest open to the people condemning such practices of prejudice and discrimination is to vote for me, irrespective of party lines. This issue is the very foundation of our free and democratic society.

I have a great deal of admiration for Mr. Tom Chambers of the Conservative party who, after being awarded the nomination, rejected it when he became aware of the circumstances and the theft of a ballot box.

I am proud to represent you in a free and forthright manner and not to be placed in the position of contesting the election through the manoeuvrability of a minority executive group.

I am also proud to stand on issues that will bring better living conditions to the people of Edmonton Centre. I stand with Mr. Trudeau for unity . . . one nation, one Canada.

My platform is based on my knowledge of the needs of Edmonton Centre. My experience will, I believe, give you a strong voice in Ottawa.

I invite your support regardless of party affiliation. To ensure my election, do not split and divide your support.

## Steve Paproski, Conservative

I am convinced that I represent the party and the program which best serves the needs of the 50,000 voters in Edmonton Centre. To test this proposition let us take the Conservative stand on the major election issues as they now emerge and superimpose this program on the needs and problems of our constituency. This is a test that each voter should make before June 23th.

Let me demonstrate with only one example how our party's national policy can be converted into a means of satisfying and expediting one of the major problems facing our constituency.

The areas of the city involved with urban renewal and the majority of people and businesses affected by urban renewal are found in Edmonton Centre. The substantial portion of the money required to carry out the program of urbanization will be spent in Edmonton Centre by the federal government.

The re-location and development of new housing complexes must be a necessary and integral part of the plan to modify and revitalize the downtown urban complex.

In order that feasible and immediate steps may be taken to implement our urban renewal program, money must be available to encourage relocation and stimulate new housing developments with due regard to the need for multiple housing units. Money must be available at reasonable interest rates and there must be confidence in the value of the dollar in order to ensure that the necessary property may be acquired at a proper price and that the property owner will receive real value for his sale.

The promise of our party to furnish a revitalized housing program, and to lower interest rates is ideally suited to encourage Edmonton Centre's plan of urban renewal. A phasing out of the current sales tax on building materials would seem an attractive and essential feature of our plan.

I see no such immediate development for Edmonton Centre under the vague and undisclosed program offered by the two Liberal candidates in our constituency.



T. H. Qualter and K. A. McKirdy did an admirable study of press coverage during the 1962 election. They dealt with the "total" election coverage by the leading Ontario newspapers, including news items, editorials, photographs and paid advertisements.<sup>69</sup> We were not able to carry out such a thorough analysis and therefore will be less precise. In the coverage by the local newspaper in terms of space allocated through paid advertisement of candidates, the lion's share seems to have been given to Mr. Hawrelak followed by Mr. Paproski. Dr. Dolman had the least amount. In terms of "news" coverage we conjecture that Mr. Hawrelak and Mr. Paproski probably "tie", with Mr. Gray trailing very closely. The editorials, we suggest, were in favour of the Conservatives though some "Trudeau-mania" did break through. Mr. Paproski's photo appeared once as a news item<sup>70</sup> and his campaign committee's appeared in another.<sup>71</sup> The other candidates were not given this privilege. Mr. Charles Lynch, the doyen of journalists, in his column continued to thunder against the Liberals and the N.D.P., as did Mr. Eaton Howitt. This is not a condemnation of the paper concerned, but an observation relating to our candidates and their parties.

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<sup>69</sup>J. Meisel (ed.), Papers on the 1962 Election (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. 145-168.

<sup>70</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 6, 1968, p. 34.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., June 8, 1968, p. 6.



Most of the candidates advertised in periodicals. Details of publications are listed in the table below.

TABLE 5

## CANDIDATE-ADVERTISING IN PERIODICALS

| Publication               | Candidate    |                                                         |
|---------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
|                           | S.E.Paproski | W.Hawrelak                                              |
| Western Catholic Reporter | June 6 to 20 | June 20                                                 |
| Il Mondo                  | June 22      | June 17 - $\frac{1}{2}$ page                            |
| Der Courier               | June 8       | June 17 - $\frac{1}{2}$ page                            |
| Der Northwestern          | -            | June issue -<br>$\frac{1}{2}$ page + $\frac{1}{4}$ page |
| Western Sports Weekly     | -            | June 14, 200<br>lines                                   |
| Canadian Farmer           | -            | June issue                                              |
| Bugle                     | -            | June issue<br>4 col. x 7"                               |
| Ukrainian News            | June 20      | June 20 - 2 pages                                       |
| Ukrainian Voice           | -            | June 19<br>4 col. x 32"                                 |

Mr. Paproski spent \$373 advertising in publications, while Mr. Hawrelak spent \$1,700 and Dr. Dolman a mere \$28. Figures for Mr. Gray were not available at the time of writing.

(iii) Radio and Television. The candidates made extensive use of radio and television. Dr. Dolman appeared on a hot-line radio programme where people





rang up and asked the candidates questions directly. The other Edmonton Centre candidates were not so willing to engage in discussion of policies but were more willing to buy "spots" in the communication media. Mr. Hawrelak was once again the biggest "contributor" to radio. He bought eighteen "spots" in various languages on CHFA (Edmonton June 9 - 20th). CFCW (Camrose) carried announcements in prime time on Ukrainian programmes from June 9 to 22nd. CFRN (Edmonton) carried seventeen announcements from June 10 to 23rd. Other stations, CJCA, CHED and CHQT had similar "packages" for Mr. Hawrelak. He stressed his experience as Mayor, accused the Liberal Party of trickery during the nomination, and asked for an independent voice for Edmonton Centre and a multicultural Canada. Radio advertising cost him \$2,153. Mr. Gray also bought spots on the radio probably as extensively as Mr. Hawrelak but precise figures at the time were unavailable. He spoke of his being the "official" Liberal, personally endorsed by Prime Minister Trudeau, of his abilities as a successful business executive, and of his support for one Canada. Neither Dr. Dolman nor Mr. Paproski bought "spots" on radio.

Mr. Hawrelak also surpassed the other candidates in his use of T.V. His total expenditure was \$2,561 for 21 spots on CFRN-TV from June 10th to 23rd. We managed to transcribe one of his broadcasts:

I believe in one Canada and one nation. Mr. Diefenbaker when he was the leader of the opposition



took this stand as does Mr. Trudeau. In fact Mr. Trudeau has stated very emphatically that under his leadership there will be only one mailing address for Canada and that is Ottawa. I regret very much that Mr. Stanfield has chosen the two-nation concept. We are not an island unto ourselves; we are all part of a great national family. I respect and recognise the two official languages of Canada but I also recognise the contribution to culture made by all peoples of Canada. A vote for Mr. Hawrelak in Edmonton Centre is a vote for a strong voice and a strong united Canada.<sup>72</sup>

Mr. Paproski also bought "spots" on CFRN-TV from June 18th to 22nd, at a total cost of \$1,285. His themes dealt with his being born and bred in Edmonton Centre, with the sorry state of the economy under the Liberals, and with "two nations" in Canada. Mr. Gray's T.V. message was the same as his radio message--personal endorsement by Mr. Trudeau and his own "qualifications".

The four Edmonton Centre candidates appeared on a T.V. "debate"<sup>73</sup> in a half-hour programme. They were asked questions and allowed to comment on each other freely.

Tony Cox of CFRN News Service, Eddy Keen of the Edmonton Journal and Bill Rogers of CJCA were the team asking questions. The transcription is given below.

|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Question | Mr. Hawrelak, you have been advised by the Liberal Party that you ought not to pick up the banner on their behalf. However, by running as an Independent Liberal are you not hurting the party by splitting its votes? |
|----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

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<sup>72</sup>CFRN-TV, June 11, 1968.

<sup>73</sup>CFRN-TV, "Face the Newsmen", June 23, 1968, 5 to 5:30 p.m.





Hawrelak

I think that there are some important issues involved in this election and I am thinking of the May sixteenth nominating meeting. At that time you will recall that there were two hundred people of ours at the meeting properly qualified to vote, who by trickery and other means were disallowed their vote and didn't have their franchise. That's a very serious business. When you think of the fact that you are taking away the freedom of choice from these people and we are also threatened that if as was called a free and open convention I was nominated and the Liberal executive would take some other form of action--that should not be allowed to exist in a free and open convention in a democratic country. We are talking about Africa and other places in the world about no democracy existing there. This is something that happened in our own backyard and I think that it should be stopped.

Question

Mr. Gray, what do you say about this? Now Mr. Paproski also ran into the same thing. He originally lost the nomination because of a stolen ballot box. They had to have another meeting and Mr. Paproski won it and there was a gentleman's agreement after Mr. Chambers ceded to the second nominating convention. What do you think about these allegations and why perhaps did you not come out and say Mr. Hawrelak's allegations are correct and that we better have another nominating convention?

Gray

First of all we did not have a ballot box stolen nor did we find the one that the Conservatives lost. This was democracy in action which is neither persecution, prejudice or discrimination as far as my understanding is concerned and the remarks of the Liberal Party. It was conducted properly and the gentlemen who conducted the nomination are honourable men and will not in any way cause irregularities. And another question may I ask is who says there were two hundred supporters of Mr. Hawrelak that were denied the ballot. First of all there were ten people outside the hall when I came in. I was one of the





last ones to enter. I am a little surprised. What's the assumption that there were two hundred people who couldn't get in and that they were all Hawrelak supporters?

Hawrelak

Mr. Gray, we had declaration from about two hundred people and they didn't declare supporting me but I suspect they were because they had lapel badges with Hawrelak. They were admitted all right into the meeting but were by various means of misdirection told to sit at a certain place after they had their wrists stamped and told to come back later to get a ballot. When they came back later there were no ballots to be given.

Gray

There were seven hundred and twenty people voted for Hawrelak. I cannot understand how seven hundred and twenty people can get ballots and some two hundred sit there and get no ballots and you know nothing about it at that time.

Question

Mr. Hawrelak, are you not splitting the vote in Edmonton Centre?

Hawrelak

I am asking the Liberals of Edmonton Centre to vote for me because I think that I am stronger of the two candidates and I think that they should support the democratic principles that this should not happen again.

Question

Mr. Gray, have your chances been hurt because of Mr. Hawrelak's decision to run as an Independent Liberal?

Gray

No, because I believe that the charges are unfounded. First of all there were more than one Catholic priest--about a dozen, two nuns--they were all asked for identification and proof of residence. They did not mind this. This was told to all the candidates. We were told that everyone should have proof of residence. This is the law and they must obey it. I haven't heard from this priest, don't know him and have no letter from him. I don't know anything about him.



Hawrelak                   To me registration means taking someone's name down and asking for identification prior to registration.

Question                   Mr. Paproski, do you think this will help you?

Paproski                   I don't know. They are both good campaigners and Mr. Gray as the official Liberal candidate has not come out with any distinct policy or platform of the Liberal party. All he is doing is arguing about the nomination meeting and about the national unity and as far as Edmonton Centre problems--housing, urban renewal, etc.,--we haven't got anything from them.

Question                   What is your version of national unity? There seems to be some confusion as to what Mr. Stanfield is saying and Mr. Faribault.

Paproski                   Mr. Stanfield and the P.C. Party agree that there is only one nation and two founding people--the French and English Canadians. Where they are in a majority they want to practice their cultural traditions. Where they are in a minority they will go along with us.

Question                   Dr. Dolman, what's your solution for Edmonton Centre regarding urban development and so forth?

Dolman                    This is assuming that a young radical like me is respectable--no allegations, no stolen ballot boxes. The public realise that we are in serious times, housing, taxes, the future of Canada itself. Our economic situation is serious. We agree with the Conservatives on this point. We have had too many years of bickering and squabbling; you can't build a nation on this sort of thing. I would suggest that we have had a hundred years of this type of government rather petty in some ways and it is time to sweep the whole lot out and start all over again.

Question (to Hawrelak and Gray)   Are you both for Trudeau and have you both been life-long Liberals?





- Gray I have personal endorsement of Mr. Trudeau.
- Hawrelak The Prime Minister I suppose supports the two hundred and five candidates personally. He is put in a spot. What does Mr. Trudeau know about the wrongdoings of sixteenth May? You don't expect him to know, the man has the whole nation to think about.
- Question Mr. Hawrelak, Mr. Trudeau's personal adviser and campaign manager, who was running the campaign for him in Mount Royal, Quebec, had endorsed you personally. He says "I can't embarrass the P.M. and can't say anything officially." I talked to him personally and his story does not seem to be the same as yours and appears that there may have been a change in the last few days.
- Hawrelak Mr. J. Ewaseau, the P.M.'s campaign manager in Mount Royal, informed us on Sunday that he would like personally to endorse my election here in Edmonton Centre. He made one qualification--it has nothing to do directly or indirectly with the P.M., his office or the Liberal Party. This is a personal endorsation and has to be kept in that light. He said I could use this.
- Question Mr. Paproski, the Conservative leader, Mr. Stanfield, says that the state of economy of Canada is in dire straits. Is it possible that he is thinking of devaluing the Canadian dollar to attract more money and industry and manufacturers into this country?
- Paproski I wouldn't say this. In yesterday's paper he has come out in favour of amending the income tax. He will deduct ninety percent of the tax burden between the seven and nine-and-one-eighth percent on the first N.H.A. mortgage. This is a step in the right direction.
- Dolman This is a step in the wrong direction since it will benefit the rich man more than it does the poor. I have gone into its mathematics and am prepared to argue that out.





Hawrelak

Eighty percent of our people cannot afford to obtain mortgage at the present cost of mortgage on a house that six years ago cost \$14,000 to build. Something has to be done and we've got to find a way by which the Federal treasury recognises the conditions of these fellow Canadians. There are many ways to help them: Low rental housing can be built to rent out at a price they can afford to pay and we've done it before . . . public housing is one of the answers. People who want to own houses; we must make it possible for them to do so. Some who don't want to own a house should be able to rent one. A man with a reasonable income (\$4,000 - \$5,000) should be able to build a house at the present time. Forty percent of the people earn less than that and we must think of them too--and there are many of them in Edmonton Centre.

Question

What do any of you know about Edmonton Centre? Dr. Dolman, you are my neighbour in St. Albert; Mr. Gray, you live in Spruce Grove; Mr. Paproski, you live in Edmonton West; and Mr. Hawrelak, you live in Strathcona. What have you learnt about Edmonton Centre since the election was called?

Paproski

I was raised in Edmonton Centre and have spent most of my life there. We moved out of there after we had sold our property to the Post Office 98th Street and 104th Avenue. I have lived there all my life and I know what hard times are in Edmonton Centre. I received my schooling in that constituency and I know the type of housing that is going on there right now. We our own family had to sleep in the same type of home with five to six families and the same thing is now happening in Edmonton Centre.

Hawrelak

I think that the people of Edmonton know about my interest in the whole city but Edmonton Centre is the constituency in which I am running and is typical of what other constituencies are like. I have full knowledge of the problems. All my businesses are in Edmonton Centre. I started my business in 1945--23 years, I am there



every day. And I know Edmonton Centre better than anyone else. To put it modestly I do know the problems. I have been eleven years the Mayor and if I have not learnt anything then I cannot see how anyone else can. I know how to solve them--look at Calder and Rosedale--these are areas where I personally intend to work on.

Question

Edmonton Centre has a high degree of ethnic population. Mr. Paproski, you say you are of Polish-Ukrainian background; Mr. Hawrelak you are Ukrainian Canadian. Where does this leave Mr. Gray and Dr. Dolman? Where does the ethnic vote go?

Hawrelak

We are all fellow Canadians and I look at them as such and the sooner we can all look at Canada as a composition of all peoples and the sooner we can accept their cultures as part and parcel of Canadian culture the better off we are going to be and a stronger nation we are going to build.

Paproski

Don't vote for a lightweight but for a heavyweight!

Hawrelak

I think that the people have a decision to make and they must choose one who can do most for them. They must be selfish and I don't think that they should elect a candidate who comes in on the coat-tails of his leader but someone who has principles and can stand up for them and work for them and speak for them.

Question

Where will you sit in the House of Commons should you win this election Mr. Hawrelak?

Hawrelak

I don't know anything about the seating arrangement but there is no doubt in my mind that if I win in Edmonton Centre then there will be an invitation for me to join the Liberals if I so choose. Representation has been made to me by various sources. I must say that my responsibility if elected must be to the people of Edmonton Centre first irrespective of anyone else--party comes second. If I have to





oppose Mr. Trudeau on a question affecting Edmonton Centre, I will be there to oppose. My merit is that I will be positive and propose to do things.

Dolman

I would suggest to Mr. Hawrelak that if he really is and I believe he is sincere on behalf of the people of Edmonton Centre--those earning less than \$5,000 per annum, then I think Mr. Hawrelak's in the wrong party. He should be with the N.D.P. for I fail to see how he can get any action on behalf of the ordinary man in that wage bracket when you belong to either the Liberals or Conservatives who are composed of businessmen, millionaires and lawyers. They are on the lending end, not the borrowing end.

Question

Mr. Gray, you were a Conservative and Mr. Paproski you a Liberal. Why did you switch?

Paproski

I was never a Liberal. When you are thirty-nine years old you don't really make up your mind. I made up my mind this year. I believe in the Conservative philosophy. I have attended meetings of Liberals and of Social Credit to learn and see.

Gray

Back in 1956-7 I was in fact a Conservative. I got disenchanted in 1960-61 and was in a sort of a limbo as far as any political affiliation was concerned two years ago.

Question

When did you buy the Liberal membership card? Have you picked up Trudeaumania?

Gray

About two months ago. No, I always hoped and planned that I could run into politics some day--that's the way I planned my life and hopefully got educated.

Question

A well known writer has said that the Conservatives and the N.D.P. are running scared of the Liberals. Is this true?

Dolman

Definitely not. I would have said five or six weeks ago we were a bit wary and so were the Conservatives with the recent flush of Trudeaumania. All the signs are now that it is beginning to wear off . . .





the people are not easily bamboozled; they will look a little deeper. I am sorry for Mr. Trudeau and no man alive can live up to the image created in such a short time.

Question Mr. Paproski, do you see any similarities between the present election and the 1957-58 Diefenbaker sweep?

Paproski No similarity at all. The group that follows Trudeau are the people twenty-one years and under. These don't count when it comes to voting.

Hawrelak If Mr. Diefenbaker was running we would have to worry, but Mr. Stanfield is not Mr. Diefenbaker.

Question Mr. Paproski, why hasn't Mr. Diefenbaker been to Edmonton to help you people? He is certainly powerful in the West and would help you considerably.

Paproski He has been working pretty hard for his candidates in Saskatchewan.

Gray Ever since D.D. Day (Dump Dief) and when the first two-nation policy came out, he has been somewhat wronged. He has been a strong man for one Canada and he has sort of been someone whom they could keep back in Saskatchewan so that he doesn't annoy them.

Paproski I am surprised that Mr. Gray knows so much about the Conservative party and knows nothing about the Liberal policies.

Hawrelak There are three Liberals here and I think Dolman is in effect a Liberal too. I have been working for some of the policies . . . four Liberals with different degrees of liberalism . . . and I for one have always been a Liberal.

Question On this basis of degrees of liberalism, do you suggest that the people of Edmonton Centre should forget about party politics and assess the man?



Paproski                      The man who can do the most and experienced to do it.

On the whole the author felt that Mr. Hawrelak "came out best" in the sense that he managed to speak up more frequently and aggressively than the others. Whether Mr. Hawrelak answered questions to the point or not is another matter. The other candidates, we conjecture, probably did not lose any supporters but managed to display themselves to the electorate. Beyond this we cannot say what exactly the "debate" accomplished.

The role of television during the campaign seems to have been exaggerated by media-men because for the first time in the history of Canada there was mention of genuine "debate" between the leaders of the main political parties reminiscent of the Kennedy-Nixon debates in the United States. The format of the debate was of bitter contention between the political parties themselves,<sup>74</sup> as well as between the two networks<sup>75</sup> and between the T.V. networks and the political parties. Even the leader of Canada's Communist Party, William Kashtan, wanted to participate. Eventually, the two T.V. networks agreed to co-produce a debate. By the end of the month it was agreed that a question and answer format covering all issues of the

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<sup>74</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 18, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>75</sup>C.T.V. wanted a Stanfield vs. Trudeau debate; C.B.C. wished to include other parties. See Albertan (Calgary), May 18, 1968, "CBC Offers Alternate".



election campaign and including the four party leaders would take place on the 9th of June at 6:00 p.m. The three major party leaders would participate on the full two-hour programme while Mr. Caouette, the Creditiste leader, would appear for the last forty minutes.

Charles Templeton of C.T.V. and Pierre Nadeau of C.B.C. were the co-moderators. Broadcasters Ron Collister of C.B.C., Tom Gould of C.T.V. and Jean Marc Polquin of C.B.C. posed questions. The intent of the questions was to "elicit from the party leaders a complete picture of the respective party platforms."<sup>76</sup> The journalists had the responsibility of asking questions without prior "clearance" with the parties.

At the opening of the programme each leader delivered a three-minute statement of position. Then each leader was questioned in order--their answers followed by responses from the other participants. Each leader delivered a ninety-second sum-up at the end of the programme. Both the questioners and the leaders had the choice of speaking either in English or in French with complete translation facilities available.

The Globe and Mail<sup>77</sup> expected up to fifteen million people to watch the programme but the Gallup Poll<sup>78</sup> found

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<sup>76</sup>Edmonton Journal, May 24, 1968, p. 75.

<sup>77</sup>Toronto Globe and Mail, June 8, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>78</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 29, 1968.





that only 56% of the voters watched the debate. Charles Lynch's comment was, "If we see a Stanfield who hems and haws and a Trudeau who stays eloquently with the point under discussion, the election might well be settled in Trudeau's favour then and there. The opposite might be the case if we get a rambling discursive Trudeau and a good natured, sensible Stanfield."<sup>79</sup> Leslie Millin of the Globe and Mail answered the question, Will it be historically good or historically disastrous?, "A lot depends on how much force the principal actors put into their performances. With up to twelve million people out there watching they'll have a lot of motivation . . . I think each of them will go for the jugular."<sup>80</sup>

The debate itself did manage to cover the respective party platforms. The Conservative Party's platform was published in The Progressive Conservative Policy Handbook 1968<sup>81</sup> while the Liberal one listed eighty promises<sup>82</sup> and the New Democratic platform was found in The Federal Programme of the New Democratic Party.<sup>83</sup> More than half of the programme concentrated on the state of the economy--

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., June 9, 1968, p. 35.

<sup>80</sup>L. Millin, "Putting Pizza into Politics", Toronto Globe and Mail, June 1, 1968, p. 25.

<sup>81</sup>Albertan (Calgary), June 3, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>82</sup>For a summary see P. Newman, "Trudeau Spells Out Liberal Platform", Albertan (Calgary), May 31, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>83</sup>Adopted by its Fourth Federal Convention at Toronto, July 3 to 6, 1967.



inflation and interest rates, tax changes and tax reform, unemployment and regional disparities.

Mr. Trudeau quoted the Economic Council of Canada to prove how well the country had emerged from the boom of the early sixties and recommended a cut in the budget to stabilise prices. Both the opposition leaders quoted the Council to the opposite effect and tended to point out statistics showing an economic downturn.

Before Mr. Caouette's entry the three national party leaders found some common ground. All three favoured better control of firearms in Canada. They were as one in refusing to promise that they would hold the line on taxes. However, when Mr. Douglas, the N.D.P. leader, blamed inflation largely on profiteering and recommended a tribunal to force companies to justify price increases, Mr. Trudeau took issue with him, saying the government has no such powers. Mr. Douglas praised the Carter Royal Commission on Taxation and agreed with the imposition of a capital gains tax. Mr. Trudeau said the government was weighing the revenue it would produce against the incentive it might destroy.

Neither Mr. Trudeau nor Mr. Stanfield favoured publishing sources of party campaign funds, although each proposed reforms. Mr. Douglas said only the full facts would permit Canadians to decide whether corporations buy political favours with party contributions.

Mr. Trudeau spoke aggressively on the subject of



special powers for Quebec. Both the Conservatives and N.D.P. had advocated a special status for the province. The Liberals, he said, "did not want any special status". Mr. Stanfield said any powers offered to the provinces must be offered to all of them. Mr. Douglas said there was room for uniform systems applying to Quebec on the one hand and to the rest of the provinces on the other. Mr. Stanfield commented that the Conservative position on Quebec had been misrepresented by the Liberals, who had set up a confrontation between Ottawa and Quebec during the election campaign. Quebec's future in Confederation should be a matter for discussion by the continuing Federal-Provincial Committee on the Constitution.

Only Mr. Caouette stated outright opposition to the membership of Communist China to the United Nations. The others would work for diplomatic recognition and U.N. membership subject to varying conditions. Mr. Trudeau said that he would not weaken his hand by stating in advance what the government's conditions for recognition would be. Mr. Stanfield's position was to recognise mainland China but maintain relations with Formosa. Mr. Douglas said that recognition was overdue and the question of Formosa could be settled by referendum. All four leaders favoured a re-assessment of Canada's military role in NATO but did not elaborate.

Mr. Trudeau drew support from Mr. Douglas on his





proposed Criminal Code Amendments relating to homosexuality and abortion. Mr. Stanfield would divide the bill to permit a free Commons vote on abortion. Mr. Caouette would throw the bill out.

The great debate was said not to have lived up to the expectations that had been generated around it. Peter Newman took the view that "Nobody really won the Great Debate. The clear loser was the audience."<sup>84</sup>

Marshall McLuhan, the controversial English and communications authority commented as follows:

You can't debate on T.V. and T.V. has destroyed party politics in the United States. You can't have politics on T.V. any more than territorial objectives in modern warfare. There was no debate . . . there should have been a dialogue face to face of some sort.<sup>85</sup>

Commenting on the image projected by the leaders, he felt that Stanfield came out as a "Yankee horse trader, shrewd old New Englander. There may have been some misallocations of his characteristics but he was a horse-trader, honest Abe."<sup>86</sup> Douglas had a "blowing bubble" image; his platform was wonderful, but it happened to be located in the nineteenth century. Trudeau's carved Indian Mask appealed to McLuhan, ". . . its contours were perfectly shaped and no facial expression, no lighter shade . . . it was a mask--no

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<sup>84</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 10, 1968, p. 6.

<sup>85</sup>CBC-TV, "Election 68", June 10, 1968.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid.



self expression." To the question who won the debate McLuhan answered, "Nobody, you can't win a debate on T.V. and someone has to put on the audience. T.V. is an image making form, it's not a ballot box and the man who puts on an audience is the one who wins in the old sense, the man who can include everyone in his image."

Mavor Moore, author, critic, theatrical producer and director of St. Lawrence Centre for the Arts, Toronto, had a more serious and deeper analysis of the debate than Marshall McLuhan:

Canadian caution never came out so strong and clearly as on the debate. There was too much caution in the production department, in the plan of the debate and on the part of the speakers. Everyone was trying his level best not to have anything unplanned happen but this is the best of live T.V. It is a cool media. It invites the participation of the viewers. Last night the viewers were not participating; they were bored . . . too much rather than too little was being fed to them.<sup>87</sup>

Further, Mr. Moore felt that the fault lay not only in the structure and the questions; for, regardless of the questions, the leaders "had very well prepared bland statements which they would make come hell or high water . . . any politician can do that."<sup>88</sup> For future debates he recommended (and the author agrees with him) that there should be a well-prepared substructure or groundwork (as was the case in this debate) but that the format should be looser. The author would like to further suggest that two or three

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<sup>87</sup>CBC-TV, "Election 68", June 10, 1968.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.



debates should be held with the major leaders confronting each other in pairs.

The rigid structure of the debate resulted in the boring nature of the programme. This was enhanced by the nervousness of the main participants. It was as if Trudeau had stage fright. The signs were all there: the deep breathing in the lungs, the twitching of the facial muscles. Stanfield's nervousness was obvious in the indirection of his speech. He would start phrases which he frequently didn't finish and broke off as if to clarify his thought in another way. Therefore, his nervousness was in speech, not in appearance.<sup>89</sup> Tommy Douglas came on strong from the outset. His nervousness revealed itself in an avuncular smile--a sad smile as though the world was troubled and the wise people knew it.<sup>90</sup>

When asked to assess the success or failure of the four men Mr. Moore remarked that another Canadian trait was that we did not realise that "important things are not always heavy and solemn and that light things are not always frivolous. Shakespeare in King Lear put real wisdom into the mouth of a fool and real foolishness into the mouth of a self-important old man--a king."<sup>91</sup> His criteria

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<sup>89</sup>CBC-TV, "Election 68", June 10, 1968.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid.





was the amount of conscious, not subconscious, humour that appeared during the debate.

Tommy Douglas came out best in terms of conscious humour, not only because he was in command of himself, but also because he had done his homework, because he quite frequently flected in a light way, and because he didn't talk about ideas but addressed himself to different kinds of people (say taxpayers); he "divided" his audience in this fashion so that one felt he had a particular message for himself. Stanfield and Trudeau rarely ventured into a smile. Portentiousness inhibits humour even more. If one is sitting trembling, then one is very unlikely to get one's ideas across--when often a quip would do the trick. Stanfield got so much involved in words that one lost the thread of thought through the wordiness and invariable solemnity. His speed--thirty seconds of pause and ten seconds of speech--was slow, and, though he did speed up, speed is not everything.

Mr. Trudeau is a man of considerable wit and sharpness but not much of them were evident in the debate. Simply, he was scared and over-anxious to present himself as a sober and respectable man.

Most editorials<sup>92</sup> defended the positions taken by Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Stanfield and defended their

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<sup>92</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 10, 1968, p. 4.



performances on television as part of being "responsible". Mr. Douglas was said to be a better debater and was said to have the "irresponsibility" of not having to form a government.

The Gallup Poll conducted a nation-wide survey of those who had watched the debate. Nationally, Mr. Douglas emerged as the man who came out on top, selected by 34% of the viewers (Trudeau 21%, Stanfield 8% and Caouette 6%). He headed the panel in every region, except Quebec, where Mr. Trudeau was first choice followed by Mr. Caouette. Mr. Douglas won the evening on every count--on the liveliness of his argument, on his direct replies to reporters' questions, and on the factual information he presented.<sup>93</sup>

Though Mr. Douglas was the "winner" of the debate it did not mean that he was able to "persuade" the electorate to vote for his party. A local survey carried out by the staff of the Edmonton Journal<sup>94</sup> (in which the author participated) immediately after the Great Debate revealed findings that deviated from those of Gallup. A telephone survey of 100 voters--25 each from the four Edmonton constituencies--revealed the following relationships:

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<sup>93</sup>Edmonton Journal, "Gallup Report", June 29, 1968, P. 24.

<sup>94</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 10, 1968.



|                                     |        | Trudeau<br>(Liberal) | Stanfield<br>(P. C.) | Douglas<br>(NDP) | Casouette | Other |
|-------------------------------------|--------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|-----------|-------|
| Who was most impressive?            |        | 39%                  | 18%                  | 32%              | 1%        | 10%   |
| Are you going to vote for this man? | Yes    | 25%                  | 7%                   | 3%               | 0         | 0     |
|                                     | No     | 2%                   | 4%                   | 21%              | 1%        | 0     |
|                                     | Other  | 12%                  | 7%                   | 8%               | 0         | 10%   |
| When did you make this decision?    | Today  | 3%                   | 3%                   | 1%               | 0         | 0     |
|                                     | Before | 30%                  | 9%                   | 15%              | 1%        | 0     |
|                                     | Other  | 6%                   | 6%                   | 16%              | 0         | 10%   |
| Did you vote in 1965?               | Yes    | 36%                  | 14%                  | 27%              | 1%        | 7%    |
|                                     | No     | 9%                   | 4%                   | 5%               | 0         | 1%    |

Mr. Trudeau was "most impressive" in the minds of 60% of Edmonton Centre voters, 40% of Edmonton East voters and 32% of Edmonton West voters. Mr. Douglas was "most impressive" in the minds of 44% of Edmonton Strathcona voters.<sup>95</sup>

One finds that 64.1% of those most impressed by Mr. Trudeau were going to vote for him; 38.8% of those most impressed by Mr. Stanfield were going to vote for him and only 9.4% for Douglas. A large 65.6% most impressed by Mr. Douglas rejected him and his party.

The debate may not have affected very much the

<sup>95</sup>Edmonton Journal, June 10, 1968, p. 7.





electorate of Edmonton--only a small minority, 7%, made their decision to vote on the day of the debate. Three percent decided to vote for Stanfield, three percent for Trudeau and only one percent for Douglas. The overwhelming majority of Edmonton voters, 55%, had a commitment to a particular leader or party a long time before the debate was held. These findings confirm, once again, that political beliefs and attitudes are a function of such things as childhood experiences, beliefs of parents, socio-economic status and education rather than "transitory" factors such as an election campaign.

#### 6. Expenditure and Finances

Mr. Paproski received \$9,700 from the Progressive Conservative Association and the remainder from three individuals--all lawyers--for a grand total of \$16,426, and spent \$15,747. Mr. Hawrelak financed his campaign from his own pocket; his total expenditure was \$21,625. Mr. Gray received \$21,779--all from the Edmonton Centre Liberal Association--and his total expenditure was \$20,829. Dr. Dolman's receipts were most comprehensively "broken down". Most of the money came from individual contributors. The biggest contributor was Dolman himself--\$1,300--and the next Labatt's Brewery Local--\$200. He received a short-term loan for \$300 and his total expenditure was \$2,412.

Dr. Dolman received 3,084 votes, Mr. Gray 11,632,



Mr. Hawrelak 7,878 and Mr. Paproski 11,986. If we calculate the dollar expenditure in order to obtain one vote we find that Dr. Dolman spent 70 cents to obtain one vote, Mr. Paproski \$1.30, Mr. Gray \$1.70 and Mr. Hawrelak \$2.70. Perhaps we can say that Dr. Dolman spent the least amount in obtaining a vote.

How do national expenditures compare with Edmonton Centre? Figures cited in the House of Commons<sup>96</sup> show that the total expenditure by 700 candidates was \$6,500,000. Assuming that the expenditures of the non-reporting candidates would not differ significantly from those reporting, then the average national expenditure per candidate was \$23,737. The average expenditure in Edmonton Centre amounted to \$15,323 and none of the candidates reached the "national" average.

The highest expenditures for those elected were for Robert Kaplan (Lib.-Don Valley) \$68,369, Robert B. Major (Lib.-Argenteuil) \$66,280 and two Liberals and a Conservative for whom \$50,000 was spent. Fifty thousand dollars was also spent for a defeated Conservative, Frank Moores. James Richardson (Lib.-Winnipeg South) spent \$44,596 and Andre Gagnon (Lib.-Lafontaine)--now defeated--spent \$38,500. Dalton Camp, defeated in Don Valley, spent

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<sup>96</sup>Toronto Globe and Mail, November 20, 1968, p. 3.



\$38,400. Pat Mahoney (Lib.-Calgary South) won his seat having spent \$37,431; and Eric Kierans was in the same "league".

The national leaders, perhaps because they were well known, did not spend much on their campaigns. Real Caouette, the Creditiste leader, was reported to have spent only \$1,567 the lowest amount, compared to \$8,500 for Mr. Stanfield, \$11,000 for Mr. Douglas and \$12,418 for Mr. Trudeau.

These expenditures are high and make it virtually impossible for an "ordinary" man to run well in an election unless he has the backing of a party and its funds. The Report of The Committee on Election Expenses looked into this problem and recommended responsibility by the political parties for raising funds, more equality among candidates by subsidising certain services, tax concession to donor-individuals, reduction of campaign costs by restricting expenditure on mass media and disclosure of incomes and expenditures.<sup>97</sup> We agree with these recommendations but they do not go far enough in promoting equality. The criteria should not be the political party but the quality and "quantity" of candidates. We suggest that a special "political tax" be levied to cover costs of elections and candidates. The revenue derived from this fund could be

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<sup>97</sup>Canada, Report of The Committee on Election Expenses (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966), pp. 38-64.





used to finance candidates on a per capita basis--a fixed amount to be given to any candidate who wishes to run in an election. Any additional expenditure would automatically lead to disqualification.

Advance polls, for voters who would be away on election day or who are sick or handicapped, opened on 15th June in all Edmonton ridings. They remained open from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. every day until 17th June inclusive. Mr. Paproski's organisation managed to give car rides to about four hundred voters to the advance polls and Mr. Gray around two hundred and fifty. The rest of the voting patterns and analysis will be dealt with in the concluding chapters of this thesis.



## CHAPTER V

### VOTING ANALYSIS

The aim of our analysis is to use the aggregate data,<sup>1</sup> available mainly from the voters' list, with the polling district as a unit, to examine the turnout and vote in relation to sex, age, class, ethnic characteristic and religion.

We tried to "measure" our objectives by running a simple correlation analysis. The turnout was calculated as a percentage of eligible voters in each poll directly from the voters' list. The percentage of votes going to the various candidates was based on the total votes cast in the polls. Spoilt ballots were not taken into account. Using the poll lists the percentage of "Eastern Europeans" in the polls was calculated by a graduate student in Slavonic Studies who was familiar with Slavic names. This method does not take account of generation; neither does it deal with the question of "inter-marriages" which may enhance or dilute the Slavic influence. In the absence of survey research we have to be content with this "crude" enumeration.

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<sup>1</sup>For a brief survey on aggregate data literature see Chapter I.



Edmonton Centre was divided by the Returning Officer into 180 polling districts, some being sub-divided into A's and B's. For one of the "A" and "B" polls we had enough information to be able to break it down further to fit our categories--giving us 181 "polls". We will use our own poll numbers when discussing the polls but these correspond (after poll 119) to one number "higher" than those of the Returning Officer; i.e., our No. 122 is equivalent to number 121 of the Returning Officer. We ran a correlation--Pearson's  $r$ --between percentages of turnout, males, females, Eastern Europeans and votes cast for each of the candidates in each poll. We emphasize that the total population was 181 and we dealt with the "whole" population; therefore, there was no need to take a "representative" sample with the necessity of randomising the sample and employing significance tests to interpret the results.

The nature of the aggregate data was such that only a simple correlation analysis was possible. Anything more complicated than that would have needed more variables and socio-economic data relating to the individual voter, making it possible for us to concentrate on one or two significant variables and to analyse the relationship closely. However, we were not able to use the survey method and therefore had to be content to use the aggregate data as effectively as possible.





The coefficient of correlation merely indicates to us whether there is a relationship between two variables.<sup>2</sup> It does not tell us the nature of this relationship. Our aim was a very limited one: to establish whether there was any relationship, using polling districts, between a few variables. We hope that future research workers using the Edmonton Centre Study will be able to determine the exact nature of the relationships which we expected to discover. Pearson's  $r$  shows the relationship between an independent variable  $x$  and a dependent variable  $y$ .  $100r^2$  is the percentage variation in  $y$  that is explained by a change in  $x$ .  $100(1-r^2)$  is the unexplained variance, which means that no precise explanation of the cause of  $100(1-r^2)$  percent of the variation is given. The formula is shown in Appendix IV.

Turnout is affected by many factors, physical, social, and psychological. Political interest<sup>3</sup> generated prior to the election, the weather on polling day, and the socio-economic status of the polling district may all influence the turnout. Turnout ranged from the low 33.52% in Poll 149 to a 100% turnout in Poll 169. (See Appendix V for number of voters in each poll.) The total distribution of polls is shown in the table below.

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<sup>2</sup>See A. R. Hiersic, Statistics (London: H. F. L. Publishers, 1959), pp. 216-221.

<sup>3</sup>See P. Regenstrief, Parties and Voting in Canada--The Diefenbaker Interlude (Toronto: Longmans Ltd., 1965), pp. 69-83.



TABLE 6

## TURNOUT AND POLLS

| Percentage Turnout | Number of Polls |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| 30 - 39            | 2               |
| 40 - 49            | 7               |
| 50 - 59            | 27              |
| 60 - 69            | 64              |
| 70 - 79            | 75              |
| 80 - 89            | 5               |
| 90 +               | 1               |
|                    | <hr/>           |
|                    | 181             |
|                    | <hr/>           |

The majority of polls fell in the 60 to 80 percent turnout group. The average turnout for the whole constituency was 66.13 percent, which is just above the average percent turnout for the Province of Alberta. In the last twelve general elections (1921-1962) Alberta had an average of 66% turnout in Federal constituencies.<sup>4</sup> The lowest turnout among the groups of polls is around polls 115 to 149, which are roughly in the eastern side of the constituency and are also low-income areas of the constituency.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>F. C. Engelmann and M. A. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure (Scarborough: Prentice Hall, 1967), p. 41.

<sup>5</sup>See Chapter II.



On the whole it seems that Edmonton Centre constituents did not become very "politically interested" during this election and reflect this in above average turnout.

The relationship between turnout and males was  $-0.5244$  and between turnout and females  $0.5351$ . This finding is contrary to usual studies that show that males are more inclined to vote than females.<sup>6</sup> One explanation may be that a few polls with large concentration of female voters (e.g. nurses' residence) in conjunction with Trudeaumania and more than average turnout (see below) managed to reverse the relationship. Further research is necessary here. Perhaps the Edmonton Centre Election Study may throw some light.

The correlation between turnout and the vote for Gray and Paproski was high,  $0.5036$  and  $0.6437$ . This means that up to 25% of Mr. Gray's and 36% of Mr. Paproski's votes may be explained by the turnout. In other words, both Mr. Gray and Mr. Paproski were helped by the turnout. Correlations between turnout and Dr. Dolman's votes ( $0.1721$ ) and Mr. Hawrelak's votes ( $0.0629$ ) were insignificant as was the correlation between percentage of Eastern European voters and turnout ( $-0.1124$ ).

There were two polls 167 and 169 (nursing homes) where females comprised over 97% of the voters. In both these polls the percentage of votes received by Mr. Gray was 80%. This in conjunction with a high positive correlation of  $0.6318$  between the vote for Mr. Gray, the official

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<sup>6</sup>R. Lane, Political Life (Toronto: Macmillan Ltd., 1965), pp. 47-8; and S. M. Lipset, Political Man (New York: Anchor Books, 1963), p. 187.





TABLE 7

## CORRELATION MATRIX

|      | T/O | M       | F       | EE      | DOL     | GRAY    | HAW     | PAP     |
|------|-----|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| T/O  | --  | -0.5244 | 0.5351  | -0.1124 | 0.1721  | 0.5036  | 0.0629  | 0.6437  |
| M    |     | --      | -1.0000 | 0.3572  | 0.1658  | -0.6318 | 0.2573  | -0.2553 |
| F    |     |         | --      | -0.3572 | -0.1244 | 0.6318  | -0.2422 | 0.2553  |
| EE   |     |         |         | --      | 0.0435  | -0.5330 | 0.6833  | -0.2106 |
| DOL  |     |         |         |         | --      | -0.2722 | 0.0609  | 0.2200  |
| GRAY |     |         |         |         |         | --      | -0.5797 | 0.1197  |
| HAW  |     |         |         |         |         |         | --      | -0.1339 |
| PAP  |     |         |         |         |         |         |         | --      |



Liberal candidate, and females led us to hypothesize that females may be more attracted towards Trudeau than males. The answers to the question in the Edmonton Centre Election Study, "regardless of party vote who would be the best prime minister?" corroborates our hypothesis. Of the total sample an overwhelming 26.9% of female votes (regardless of party preference), preferred Mr. Trudeau as prime minister compared to 19.2% males. The corresponding figures for Mr. Stanfield were 11.4% of female voters and 9.2% males, and for Mr. Manning 8.5% males and 8.5% females. Mr. Douglas was preferred by males comprising 8.5% of the total sample and females 7.7% of the total sample.

The final results showed that Mr. Paproski, the Conservative candidate, was elected by a very narrow margin. Mr. Paproski received 11,986 votes (34.6%); Mr. Gray, the official Liberal candidate, 11,632 votes (33.6%); Mr. Hawrelak, the Independent-Liberal candidate 7,878 (22.8%), and Dr. Dolman 3,084 votes (9%). The distribution of the percentage of votes obtained in each poll by the candidates is shown in the table below.



TABLE 8

## PERCENTAGE VOTE RECEIVED BY CANDIDATES IN POLLS

| % Vote Received in Poll | No. of Polls |      |          |          |
|-------------------------|--------------|------|----------|----------|
|                         | Dolman       | Gray | Hawrelak | Paproski |
| 0 - 4                   | 21           | --   | 2        | --       |
| 5 - 9                   | 86           | --   | 7        | --       |
| 10 - 14                 | 62           | 7    | 25       | --       |
| 15 - 19                 | 10           | 8    | 45       | 8        |
| 20 - 24                 | 2            | 25   | 28       | 11       |
| 25 - 29                 | --           | 34   | 24       | 15       |
| 30 - 34                 | --           | 34   | 22       | 51       |
| 35 - 39                 | --           | 34   | 9        | 59       |
| 40 - 44                 | --           | 20   | 9        | 36       |
| 45 - 49                 | --           | 6    | 7        | 1        |
| 50 - 54                 | --           | 5    | --       | --       |
| 55 - 59                 | --           | 4    | 3        | --       |
| 60 +                    | --           | 4    | --       | --       |
| TOTAL                   | 181          | 181  | 181      | 181      |

The table shows that Mr. Paproski's support was drawn from all parts of the constituency; 100 polls, or more than half, gave him between 30% to 40% of their votes; very few polls were at either extremes. His support did not fall to less than 15% in any poll; neither did it rise to above 45%. Mr. Paproski's distribution roughly





approximates the "normal curve".

Mr. Gray's distribution was both "flattened" and "skewed". Only some 68 polls fell in the 30% to 40% category. However he obtained high percentages of over 45% of votes in 19 polling districts as compared to Mr. Paproski's one and Mr. Hawrelak's ten. One area which could be classified as "solid" Gray support was that comprising seventeen polls--numbers 165 to 181. It is bordered by 106th Street in the east; the river on the south, 116th Street on the west along 98th Avenue due west until 109th Street and then due north until 104th Avenue. Mr. Gray obtained a large majority among these polls reaching 80.49% and 80% in polls 167 and 169. We conjecture that this is the new "high-rise" area where "young" educated persons dwell. In addition, this is also a strong Catholic area<sup>8</sup> and Roman Catholics have traditionally voted Liberal in Canada.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, Gray was a Catholic himself.

Dr. Dolman fared badly all across the constituency. He obtained no votes at all in Poll 169 and his highest percentage of vote was in Poll 55 with only 24.53%. If any area could conceivably be classified as Dr. Dolman's "base" it would be that around Polls 36 to 45, where he

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<sup>8</sup>See Tract 19 in Census, op. cit., Table 1, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup>See M. Schwartz in Meisel (ed.), Papers on the 1962 Election (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. 243-5.



averaged a modest 14.9% vote, with the highest percentage in Poll 41, 21.71%. This is the area bordered by 116th Street in the west along 130th Avenue due west until 121st Street and then due north until 132nd Avenue and 134th Street in the west. The south is demarcated by the C. N. railway tracks. This is the older Calder area and a stronghold of the railway workers.

Mr. Hawrelak obtained the highest percentage of votes in polls 121 to 136 where he averaged 43.38% votes, with the highest vote, 58.44%, in poll 135. This area is roughly bordered by 101st Street and the C. N. tracks in the west and south, then branching off due east at 105th Avenue until the river. In the north the area is bordered by 112th Avenue. This is a low income area and has a high proportion of "Eastern European" population--the highest in the constituency.

To answer the question of "ethnic" voting--"Eastern Europeans" supporting an "ethnic" candidate--we ran correlations between the percentage proportion of "Eastern Europeans" in each poll and the percentage vote obtained by the four candidates. For some sort of "ethnic" identification to appear we expected to find a high positive correlation between the proportion of "Eastern Europeans" and the vote for the two "ethnic" candidates--Mr. Hawrelak and Mr. Paproski--or a high correlation between "Eastern Europeans" and one of the "ethnic" candidates and a high



negative one with the other indicating that one was obtaining "ethnic" support at the expense of the other.

We found a high correlation of 0.6833 between the proportion of "Eastern Europeans" and the vote for Mr. Hawrelak; which means that nearly 47% of his vote was explained by the proportion of "Eastern Europeans". This was corroborated by examining Polls 121-136 where Mr. Hawrelak obtained his main support. The average proportion of "Eastern Europeans" in those polls was 34.68%; the highest of any other group of sixteen polls. The relationship between Mr. Paproski's votes and the proportion of "Eastern Europeans" was -0.2106--negative but not really significant. Instead we found that the relationship between "Eastern Europeans" and Gray votes was strongly negative -0.5330. Therefore, as far as "ethnic" voting is concerned, we can say that Mr. Hawrelak did obtain the support of the "Eastern European" population of Edmonton Centre and that the "Eastern Europeans" tended not to support Mr. Gray.





## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

We began this study by reviewing the literature and discovering that there was little research done on constituency elections. The creation of a new federal constituency in an urban area and the general election of June 1968 gave us the opportunity to try to fill in, in a small way, this gap by making an "in depth" study of a constituency using a combined "Nuffield" and aggregate data approach.

Examining the socio-economic characteristics of the constituency we found that the population was rising rapidly, was "young" and was growing faster on the outskirts than anywhere else. The average income of the constituency was less than that of the rest of the city. Anglo-Saxons formed the largest ethnic group followed by Ukrainians, Germans, French and a host of other nationalities. Roman Catholics are the largest religious group followed by the United Church, the Church of England and small percentages of Lutherans, Greek Orthodox and Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic. The literacy rate of the population seems to have risen in the last few years and this question ought to be thoroughly researched. Wage earners were the largest "class" of



workers, followed by housewives, professional salaried, professional non-salaried, others and self-employed. The housing condition of the constituency varied from single detached in the north to large apartments in the south, with the proportion of rented dwellings increasing rapidly.

There was keen competition for nomination especially in the Liberal and Conservative parties due to the suddenness of the election and newness of the constituency-- though there was a Conservative tradition in the past, the other parties had a feeling of a greater chance of success. The action of "natural selectors" was once again seen at work reducing this competitiveness. The decision to run for nomination was made as early as a year in advance by one Conservative contender but most of the other candidates decided roughly two months before the actual election date. There seemed to be no open support from the party officials for one candidate or another beyond private "moral" support. In the case of Mr. Hawrelak party officials made their dislike clear without actually saying so. It seems that the strategy for contesting a nomination usually began with the candidates' consulting with friends and close acquaintances and then meeting people in "institutions".

The New Democratic Party differed from the other two parties in that, due to lack of support, it held one convention for all the constituencies in Edmonton. The procedure was similar in all three nominating conventions



with the executive possessing power to set the rules. Persons qualified to vote in all three conventions were card-carrying members residing in the federal riding. The Liberals differed from the other parties in that they had a sort of primary system, but it was discarded by the executive due to lack of time. The Liberal candidates prior to the nominating convention tended to appeal to the electorate at large through newspaper advertising, rather than to known party members. Mr. Hawrelak's entry created a sense of keen rivalry, attracting a larger crowd than "normally" is the case. The charges of "irregularity" need to be looked into and carefully researched in order to try to prevent irregularities in future.

None of the four candidates resided in the constituency itself; two were "ethnie" candidates; two had a university education; and the other two had high school education. Three of the candidates had a business background and one was an optometrist. Two candidates had only recently (just prior to the nomination) joined their parties and the other two had been previously active in party politics.

The effectiveness and the size of a candidate's organisation partly depend on the amount of resources available. Mr. Gray had the largest organisation, corresponding to his larger resources. The organisations of all the candidates consisted partly of a skeletal paid staff but





mainly of voluntary workers. All three candidates carried out a poll-by-poll breakdown of the constituency and tried to concentrate their efforts on areas where they thought they would be most effective in obtaining votes. There is need to carry out research to determine the attitudes and characteristics of campaign managers, agents and volunteer workers and to find out their political activities in off-election years.

The types of meetings held were the mass rally with national leaders or prominent civic and political leaders, and the mixed all-candidate forum. The old coffee party was virtually out. It is difficult to measure the impact of these meetings except to say that it was an "educative" one and that the leaders tried to help the candidates through their own popularity. Mr. Trudeau's popularity on the prairies was less than that in the nation as a whole while both Mr. Stanfield and Mr. Douglas were more popular in the prairies than in the nation. There was a close correspondence between the popularity of the party and the popularity of the national leaders, unlike in the early 60's with Diefenbaker and Pearson. The Liberals managed to bring out three prominent members of the government to "help" their candidates while the Conservatives and New Democrats managed one prominent member each. There were three mixed forums held. Once again it is necessary to have survey research teams to try to measure with questionnaires the



exact impact of these various types of meetings. Of the issues discussed at the meetings, housing tended to be the most frequently mentioned. If we lump together economic issues (housing, rate of interest, inflation, cost of living, etc.) then the largest category is that of economic issues, followed by national unity and Mr. Trudeau's personality. The Conservative and New Democratic candidates stressed bread and butter issues while the two Liberals stressed national unity.

The candidates' campaigns varied according to the resources each could command. All four advertised in the local newspaper but only Mr. Hawrelak and Mr. Gray bought spots on radio and television. Mr. Hawrelak handed over all of his "media" side to a public relations firm from Calgary. The local newspaper gave the lion's share of "news" coverage to Mr. Hawrelak followed by Mr. Paproski. The editorials of the local paper were mostly in favour of the Conservative candidate but there were some Liberal breakthroughs.

In the short run television does not seem to affect significantly the electorate's decision. Though Mr. Douglas came out the "best" in the debate he did not seem to change to any significant degree the intention of the voters of Edmonton Centre. However, the televised leadership contests which selected Stanfield and Trudeau raised the popularity of their respective parties soon after they had been



selected. We surmise that a series of less structured debates on television may have a greater impact in the long run.

Mr. Gray, Mr. Hawrelak and Mr. Paproski all spent large sums of money to try to win the constituency but these sums were well below the national average.

In Chapter V we examined the turnout and found that it was not significantly different from the average turnout for the province of Alberta in previous general elections. The lowest turnout was in the low income area of the constituency. Turnout tended to help both Mr. Paproski and Mr. Gray. We found that females were more likely to vote for Mr. Trudeau than males and that Eastern Europeans tended to vote for Mr. Hawrelak and not Mr. Gray. Mr. Paproski obtained support from all parts of the constituency, while we conjectured that Mr. Gray's support came from the high-rise area where "young" and educated dwell as well as from the Roman Catholic population that traditionally supports the Liberal party. Dr. Dolman's support was the strongest in the older Calder area.

Finally, I wish to say that the aggregate data method is economical and useful for historical comparisons. A shortcoming of this study is that the author could not cover such a vast area in sufficient depth by himself. It is recommended that, in future, for such an "in-depth" study a "team" approach be used so that different groups





are able to cover similar grounds quicker and in more detail. However, we hope that some findings and observations from this constituency study will be useful in understanding the numerous forces that are behind an election in a constituency.



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## APPENDIX



## APPENDIX I

PRESS STATEMENT

For Release:  
10:30 a.m.  
May 1, 1968

Having regard to the early date of the forthcoming federal election and the serious national issues involved, the Alberta Social Credit League has reconsidered its position and will not pursue a policy of running Social Credit candidates in all federal constituencies. It will be left to each individual constituency to determine whether or not it would be in the national interest that a Social Credit candidate be nominated. Every possible assistance and support will be given by the League to Social Credit candidates who are nominated.

In constituencies where no Social Credit candidate contests the election, Social Credit supporters will be urged to support the candidate who most fully subscribes to the principles and policies which the Alberta Social Credit Movement has consistently advocated both provincially and federally.

In making the foregoing decision it should be clearly understood that the Alberta Social Credit League is not relaxing in any way its determination to promote and implement the principles and policies for which it has stood over the years. The issues currently confronting Canada are so serious that the national interest must be



placed ahead of partisan considerations. The present state of national confusion emphasizes the need for meaningful political realignment to unite all citizens who share a genuine concern for the restoration of national stability and the attainment of sound national objectives.

Therefore, the Alberta Social Credit League urges all citizens to give first priority to these vital considerations in the selection of candidates and the exercise of their franchise in the forthcoming federal election.





## APPENDIX II

## EDMONTON CENTRE FEDERAL LIBERAL ASSOCIATION

900 Chancery Hall,  
Edmonton, Alberta.

Mr. Jim Whitford,  
204 Royal Trust Building,  
EDMONTON, Alberta.

Dear Sir: *Jim,*

As a person who has expressed an interest in contesting the nomination for the Federal constituency of Edmonton Centre, I am enclosing the following information:

1. Constitution of Edmonton Centre Federal Liberal Association.
2. Notice of nomination convention which will be sent to all members of the constituency association shown on the Liberal Association of Alberta records as at May 2nd, 1968 and published once in the Edmonton Journal.
3. Rules of Procedure at Nominating Convention.
4. Nomination Form.
5. Ten membership books.



Would you kindly supply me with the name, address and telephone number of your campaign manager when one is appointed. Also I would like the name, address and telephone number of your nominator by Wednesday, May 15th at 12:00 noon. Please note the meeting to be held in my office on Wednesday, May 15th, at 12:00 noon, candidates and campaign managers only please.

Should you require any further information please call me at 429-3481.



NICK MESEZHUK

B.A., LL.B.

BARRISTER - SOLICITOR - NOTARY PUBLIC

TELEPHONE:  
424-8268900 McLEOD BUILDING  
100 STREET & 101A AVENUE  
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

May 17, 1968

OUR FILE NO.

YOUR FILE NO.

William Hawrelak Esq.  
8730 - 120 Street  
Edmonton, Alberta

Dear Mr. Hawrelak:

Re: Edmonton Centre  
Liberal Nomination  
Meeting

As your nominator and on behalf of your Nomination Campaign Committee I wish to formally draw to your attention the great number of grave irregularities which occurred with respect to the Edmonton Centre Liberal Nomination Convention, which, in my opinion and in the opinion of many of your supporters, were instrumental in your being defeated.

You will recall that prior to the filing of nomination papers, you were advised in no uncertain terms by a few individuals, who while being in charge of the Liberal Federal Campaign in Alberta for the forthcoming election, purported to speak for the people and the party supporters in general, that your candidacy would not be acceptable to them and further that they would have to take steps to prevent your successful nomination, or if successful, steps would be taken to disavow your position as the Liberal Candidate. It would appear that being unable to thwart the filing of nomination papers, the aforesaid intentions prevailed.

I would briefly list some of the more serious irregularities which occurred quite openly and without any regard for the proposition that the Liberal organization was not to be a participant in affecting the election or defeat of any particular candidate but was to provide the foundation of a convention through which function the members of the public would elect the person of their choice. It is unlikely and perhaps unavailing from the viewpoint of party growth and unity that the rest of the meeting can or should be challenged, however, it is my view and that of many people that the procedure adopted by the organizers of the convention and the irregularities permitted and condoned at the meeting should be formally drawn to the attention of the Edmonton Centre

...continued.....2





William Hawrelak Esq.

May 17, 1968

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Liberal Executive, the Alberta Liberal Association, the National Liberal Federation and The Honourable Mr. Trudeau's office.

The whole matter should be investigated, firstly with the view that there should not again be a repetition in the name of our party of such disrespect to the people and constituted society and, secondly, with a hope that a great number of Liberal members will continue to remain as such if they believe that such activity within the party organization is not condoned. Our "just" society should be a reality, rather than a political slogan.

The following are some of the matters that cause us all concern:

- 1) Non-registration of voting delegates, thereby making it impossible to determine (a) how many delegates were present; (b) whether those given ballots were in fact residents; (c) whether all those entitled to vote received a ballot; (d) a reconciliation of ballots issued against the number of people present entitled to vote.
- 2) The arbitrary and inconsistent identification of person and residence requirements whereby great numbers of long time residents of Edmonton Centre whether elderly or having difficulty with the English language, but if wearing Hawrelak Lapel tags were turned away and not permitted to come through the so-called registration desks or were passed through and told they voted inside, however were not given ballots. These people assumed ballots would be obtainable inside or later on. Examples of just some incidents occurring at the registration desks where an ink stamp on the hand was to serve as proof of having passed through the lines were:

- (a) People holding a Mr. & Mrs. Liberal membership being required to prove they were man and wife and that they resided together when the husband had identification but the wife did not, the husband qualifying for a ballot, but the wife not--both wearing a Hawrelak Lapel tag;

....continued...3



- (b) Passing through "registration" area, stamping their hands and directing them through to delegates area, but not handing the ballot out;
  - (c) Handing a ballot to a delegate without the 1st white ballot;
  - (d) Refusing admittance to a member of the clergy who carried a Hawrelak tag despite identification by other clergymen of the faith of Hawrelak's church and residence identification while permitting others with similar identification to be given ballots. The clergyman having to go home where he got his Citizenship papers upon which proof he was given a ballot;
  - (e) The refusal to admit a man as a delegate for insufficiency of identification. The man went out, removed his Hawrelak lapel tag and 20 minutes later went through the same line and was admitted.
- 3) Refusing ballots to Hawrelak supporters at 9:07 p.m. (many of these having gone home to get further proof) by stating registration was closed when in fact ballots were issued at 9:55 p.m.--speeches not having yet concluded.
  - 4) Allowing only 1 scrutineer per Candidate when in fact 10 ballot boxes were being counted at once.
  - 5) The counters appointed being the same persons in many instances as those who had custody of and were to hand out ballots to delegates.
  - 6) The great number of qualified delegates being refused admission.
  - 7) The great number of qualified delegates being stamped and passed through but not given ballots, expecting receive same later.
  - 8) The great number of qualified delegates being passed

...continued...



William Hawrelak Esq.

May 17, 1968

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through, not given ballots upon failing arbitrary identification requirements but seated in delegates area when they should not have been admitted to the area.

- 9) The announcement from the Chairman's podium of withdrawal of Candidates' names from the 2nd ballot by writing but accompanied by the Chairman announcing that the withdrawn Candidates throw their support to Don Gray--the chair itself violating the rule against campaigning for support after speeches concluded.

There were many more instances of improper conduct too numerous to indicate, however, the total result was an atmosphere and attitude operating to exclude as many of Hawrelak's supporters as possible. The curious result is that there would be no way to determine the number of people attending as delegates, who they were, nor reconciling ballots issued against persons entitled to vote. No doubt a recount, which will only establish a reconciliation between ballots printed, ballots used and unused and the correctness of the tally will show to be accurate, it will not of course show who was entitled to vote, or who had the ballots to cast the vote. A recount however should be requested for the record.

Since many citizens have complained bitterly about the treatment they received and have expressed their complete disgust with the night's proceedings, I would suggest that a formal complaint go to the proper Liberal organization authorities. There will no doubt be answers of "sour grapes" and "bad losers" as being behind these complaints but this is a matter which goes beyond affecting you as a person but is challenging the rights of citizens, their equality and integrity and certainly we would be remiss in our duties as citizens if nothing were done about it.





## APPENDIX IV

FORMULA FOR R

$$r = \frac{\sum (x - \bar{x})(y - \bar{y})}{N \sigma_x \sigma_y}$$

$x$  = any single value of the variable

$\bar{x}$  = mean of all the  $x$  values

$y$  = any single value of the variable

$\bar{y}$  = mean of all the  $y$  values.

$$\sigma_x = \text{Standard Deviation } x = \sqrt{\frac{\sum f x^2}{\sum f}}$$

$$\sigma_y = \text{Standard Deviation } y = \sqrt{\frac{\sum f y^2}{\sum f}}$$



## APPENDIX V

| Eligible<br>Poll No. | Voters | Turn<br>out | Male | Female | Eastern<br>Euro-<br>pean | Dolman | Gray | Hawr | Papro |
|----------------------|--------|-------------|------|--------|--------------------------|--------|------|------|-------|
| 1                    | 241    | 181         | 121  | 120    | 37                       | 17     | 69   | 32   | 63    |
| 2                    | 402    | 281         | 203  | 199    | 72                       | 24     | 87   | 59   | 111   |
| 3                    | 250    | 177         | 132  | 118    | 57                       | 20     | 52   | 45   | 60    |
| 4                    | 393    | 298         | 199  | 194    | 81                       | 23     | 95   | 62   | 118   |
| 5                    | 168    | 121         | 88   | 80     | 27                       | 9      | 38   | 23   | 51    |
| 6                    | 291    | 238         | 142  | 149    | 39                       | 19     | 78   | 43   | 98    |
| 7                    | 330    | 242         | 174  | 156    | 76                       | 17     | 92   | 43   | 90    |
| 8                    | 213    | 150         | 105  | 108    | 30                       | 10     | 49   | 29   | 62    |
| 9                    | 276    | 193         | 140  | 136    | 35                       | 14     | 70   | 37   | 72    |
| 10                   | 374    | 273         | 188  | 186    | 96                       | 19     | 72   | 66   | 116   |
| 11                   | 249    | 197         | 134  | 115    | 56                       | 26     | 54   | 49   | 68    |
| 12                   | 360    | 269         | 188  | 172    | 60                       | 17     | 85   | 50   | 117   |
| 13                   | 154    | 115         | 78   | 76     | 21                       | 12     | 40   | 30   | 33    |
| 14                   | 243    | 178         | 123  | 120    | 51                       | 19     | 66   | 38   | 55    |
| 15                   | 358    | 242         | 184  | 174    | 85                       | 19     | 87   | 59   | 77    |
| 16                   | 260    | 180         | 120  | 140    | 63                       | 12     | 65   | 35   | 68    |
| 17                   | 343    | 244         | 177  | 166    | 79                       | 31     | 90   | 38   | 85    |
| 18                   | 337    | 230         | 161  | 176    | 79                       | 23     | 47   | 59   | 101   |
| 19                   | 116    | 93          | 31   | 85     | 10                       | 1      | 16   | 53   | 23    |
| 20                   | 381    | 282         | 190  | 191    | 67                       | 39     | 92   | 46   | 105   |
| 21                   | 321    | 230         | 165  | 156    | 44                       | 23     | 68   | 38   | 101   |
| 22                   | 363    | 250         | 182  | 181    | 117                      | 15     | 61   | 64   | 110   |
| 23                   | 291    | 207         | 145  | 146    | 76                       | 23     | 52   | 52   | 80    |
| 24                   | 351    | 238         | 150  | 201    | 76                       | 19     | 89   | 49   | 81    |
| 25                   | 360    | 251         | 172  | 188    | 107                      | 25     | 69   | 52   | 105   |
| 26                   | 331    | 220         | 167  | 164    | 118                      | 24     | 56   | 62   | 78    |
| 27                   | 283    | 197         | 150  | 133    | 43                       | 22     | 60   | 34   | 81    |
| 28                   | 266    | 160         | 133  | 133    | 78                       | 11     | 30   | 49   | 70    |
| 29                   | 135    | 103         | 69   | 66     | 47                       | 10     | 21   | 31   | 41    |
| 30                   | 364    | 243         | 170  | 194    | 103                      | 31     | 54   | 65   | 93    |
| 31                   | 372    | 256         | 188  | 184    | 97                       | 31     | 63   | 65   | 97    |
| 32                   | 228    | 156         | 116  | 112    | 40                       | 15     | 39   | 41   | 61    |
| 33                   | 265    | 175         | 136  | 129    | 78                       | 22     | 49   | 49   | 55    |
| 34                   | 241    | 149         | 114  | 127    | 52                       | 14     | 39   | 45   | 51    |
| 35                   | 253    | 176         | 126  | 127    | 60                       | 15     | 46   | 53   | 62    |
| 36                   | 232    | 158         | 108  | 124    | 43                       | 17     | 41   | 41   | 59    |
| 37                   | 378    | 255         | 216  | 162    | 67                       | 34     | 60   | 80   | 81    |
| 38                   | 330    | 239         | 165  | 165    | 51                       | 41     | 68   | 43   | 87    |
| 39                   | 214    | 145         | 105  | 109    | 32                       | 16     | 36   | 38   | 55    |
| 40                   | 303    | 226         | 156  | 147    | 59                       | 18     | 64   | 59   | 85    |
| 41                   | 252    | 152         | 125  | 127    | 50                       | 33     | 22   | 41   | 56    |
| 42                   | 231    | 153         | 122  | 109    | 86                       | 22     | 20   | 62   | 49    |
| 43                   | 393    | 276         | 185  | 208    | 42                       | 29     | 97   | 40   | 112   |
| 44                   | 255    | 183         | 128  | 127    | 71                       | 26     | 56   | 43   | 58    |
| 45                   | 290    | 183         | 151  | 139    | 77                       | 24     | 55   | 50   | 54    |



| Eligible |        |          | Eastern |        |           |        |      |      |       |
|----------|--------|----------|---------|--------|-----------|--------|------|------|-------|
| Poll No. | Voters | Turn out | Male    | Female | Euro-pean | Dolman | Gray | Hawr | Papro |

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|    |     |     |     |     |     |    |     |    |     |
|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|----|-----|
| 46 | 216 | 142 | 95  | 121 | 33  | 11 | 35  | 32 | 64  |
| 47 | 284 | 199 | 141 | 143 | 55  | 28 | 56  | 38 | 76  |
| 48 | 188 | 136 | 88  | 100 | 48  | 13 | 45  | 27 | 51  |
| 49 | 195 | 123 | 100 | 95  | 44  | 13 | 31  | 29 | 50  |
| 50 | 439 | 309 | 225 | 214 | 89  | 36 | 97  | 58 | 118 |
| 51 | 326 | 240 | 149 | 177 | 28  | 19 | 118 | 30 | 73  |
| 52 | 215 | 161 | 104 | 111 | 44  | 13 | 52  | 31 | 65  |
| 53 | 263 | 195 | 136 | 127 | 65  | 18 | 64  | 47 | 66  |
| 54 | 297 | 215 | 159 | 138 | 49  | 33 | 68  | 53 | 61  |
| 55 | 81  | 53  | 38  | 43  | 11  | 13 | 16  | 10 | 14  |
| 56 | 290 | 211 | 142 | 148 | 43  | 15 | 74  | 38 | 84  |
| 57 | 319 | 223 | 159 | 160 | 38  | 29 | 89  | 35 | 70  |
| 58 | 205 | 148 | 98  | 107 | 21  | 12 | 63  | 29 | 44  |
| 59 | 347 | 223 | 167 | 180 | 55  | 26 | 59  | 48 | 90  |
| 60 | 285 | 192 | 140 | 145 | 47  | 22 | 57  | 32 | 81  |
| 61 | 334 | 249 | 168 | 166 | 85  | 29 | 61  | 60 | 99  |
| 62 | 260 | 173 | 131 | 129 | 66  | 7  | 40  | 54 | 72  |
| 63 | 215 | 164 | 118 | 97  | 66  | 26 | 23  | 53 | 62  |
| 64 | 243 | 176 | 136 | 107 | 56  | 26 | 36  | 51 | 65  |
| 65 | 437 | 274 | 247 | 190 | 99  | 33 | 99  | 43 | 99  |
| 66 | 295 | 191 | 148 | 147 | 71  | 9  | 54  | 55 | 73  |
| 67 | 211 | 154 | 128 | 83  | 80  | 7  | 50  | 46 | 51  |
| 68 | 405 | 255 | 220 | 185 | 74  | 18 | 118 | 45 | 74  |
| 69 | 426 | 227 | 219 | 207 | 105 | 20 | 60  | 59 | 88  |
| 70 | 352 | 254 | 172 | 180 | 120 | 21 | 68  | 82 | 83  |
| 71 | 236 | 165 | 127 | 109 | 69  | 19 | 51  | 52 | 43  |
| 72 | 233 | 164 | 112 | 121 | 57  | 22 | 38  | 49 | 55  |
| 73 | 150 | 92  | 75  | 75  | 21  | 9  | 24  | 20 | 39  |
| 74 | 95  | 50  | 54  | 41  | 41  | 3  | 12  | 16 | 19  |
| 75 | 309 | 216 | 173 | 136 | 101 | 8  | 51  | 99 | 58  |
| 76 | 442 | 274 | 224 | 218 | 102 | 15 | 107 | 69 | 83  |
| 77 | 316 | 217 | 173 | 143 | 109 | 7  | 61  | 77 | 72  |
| 78 | 104 | 38  | 54  | 50  | 5   | 3  | 25  | 1  | 9   |
| 79 | 449 | 297 | 204 | 245 | 64  | 25 | 106 | 58 | 108 |
| 80 | 205 | 149 | 94  | 111 | 30  | 13 | 61  | 22 | 53  |
| 81 | 153 | 116 | 70  | 83  | 23  | 15 | 37  | 25 | 39  |
| 82 | 256 | 169 | 134 | 122 | 37  | 15 | 62  | 27 | 65  |
| 83 | 579 | 373 | 275 | 304 | 80  | 34 | 133 | 65 | 141 |
| 84 | 253 | 167 | 120 | 133 | 14  | 21 | 67  | 29 | 50  |
| 85 | 400 | 280 | 199 | 201 | 42  | 21 | 116 | 33 | 110 |
| 86 | 153 | 110 | 78  | 75  | 31  | 12 | 35  | 26 | 37  |
| 87 | 162 | 125 | 80  | 82  | 28  | 9  | 44  | 21 | 51  |
| 88 | 146 | 74  | 64  | 82  | 10  | 7  | 17  | 23 | 27  |
| 89 | 232 | 164 | 94  | 138 | 33  | 16 | 71  | 17 | 60  |
| 90 | 260 | 189 | 115 | 145 | 17  | 9  | 82  | 28 | 70  |
| 91 | 215 | 146 | 109 | 106 | 19  | 27 | 53  | 11 | 55  |
| 92 | 312 | 225 | 172 | 140 | 48  | 10 | 100 | 28 | 87  |





| Poll<br>No. | Eligible |             | Eastern |        |               |        |      |      |       |
|-------------|----------|-------------|---------|--------|---------------|--------|------|------|-------|
|             | Voters   | Turn<br>out | Male    | Female | Euro-<br>pean | Dolman | Gray | Hawr | Papro |
| 93          | 267      | 196         | 134     | 133    | 49            | 9      | 71   | 37   | 79    |
| 94          | 264      | 217         | 128     | 136    | 30            | 26     | 65   | 40   | 86    |
| 95          | 260      | 184         | 123     | 137    | 28            | 20     | 72   | 32   | 60    |
| 96          | 293      | 210         | 148     | 145    | 39            | 20     | 89   | 20   | 81    |
| 97          | 375      | 251         | 153     | 222    | 27            | 8      | 102  | 47   | 94    |
| 98          | 255      | 163         | 130     | 125    | 22            | 13     | 57   | 35   | 58    |
| 99          | 263      | 171         | 128     | 135    | 32            | 23     | 63   | 25   | 60    |
| 100         | 182      | 116         | 88      | 94     | 23            | 8      | 43   | 19   | 46    |
| 101         | 153      | 97          | 76      | 77     | 30            | 12     | 32   | 16   | 37    |
| 102         | 317      | 247         | 161     | 156    | 58            | 17     | 83   | 40   | 107   |
| 103         | 123      | 94          | 62      | 61     | 33            | 12     | 1    | 33   | 29    |
| 104         | 381      | 281         | 192     | 189    | 56            | 31     | 109  | 46   | 95    |
| 105         | 159      | 130         | 79      | 80     | 53            | 11     | 34   | 47   | 38    |
| 106         | 391      | 250         | 188     | 203    | 41            | 13     | 115  | 32   | 90    |
| 107         | 363      | 263         | 187     | 176    | 56            | 15     | 96   | 54   | 98    |
| 108         | 552      | 303         | 282     | 270    | 108           | 13     | 120  | 51   | 119   |
| 109         | 460      | 273         | 226     | 234    | 43            | 21     | 114  | 40   | 98    |
| 110         | 610      | 380         | 300     | 310    | 102           | 27     | 170  | 57   | 126   |
| 111         | 282      | 167         | 139     | 143    | 57            | 17     | 69   | 43   | 38    |
| 112         | 401      | 296         | 192     | 209    | 94            | 18     | 111  | 64   | 103   |
| 113         | 195      | 147         | 94      | 101    | 71            | 10     | 32   | 71   | 34    |
| 114         | 224      | 157         | 116     | 108    | 75            | 11     | 46   | 50   | 50    |
| 115         | 169      | 84          | 56      | 113    | 22            | 5      | 48   | 6    | 25    |
| 116         | 431      | 276         | 233     | 198    | 94            | 25     | 94   | 41   | 116   |
| 117         | 294      | 172         | 155     | 139    | 67            | 12     | 56   | 40   | 64    |
| 118         | 336      | 208         | 186     | 150    | 95            | 23     | 56   | 45   | 84    |
| 119         | 244      | 163         | 131     | 113    | 63            | 18     | 38   | 53   | 54    |
| 120         | 262      | 230         | 129     | 133    | 77            | 6      | 39   | 34   | 50    |
| 121         | 300      | 151         | 158     | 142    | 107           | 13     | 40   | 64   | 34    |
| 122         | 305      | 194         | 165     | 140    | 96            | 10     | 41   | 89   | 54    |
| 123         | 139      | 69          | 70      | 69     | 43            | 4      | 27   | 23   | 15    |
| 124         | 255      | 161         | 147     | 108    | 95            | 13     | 57   | 61   | 30    |
| 125         | 466      | 286         | 317     | 149    | 208           | 23     | 39   | 161  | 63    |
| 126         | 111      | 50          | 76      | 35     | 36            | 5      | 7    | 23   | 15    |
| 127         | 516      | 229         | 407     | 109    | 181           | 16     | 31   | 111  | 71    |
| 128         | 258      | 138         | 134     | 124    | 72            | 10     | 24   | 60   | 44    |
| 129         | 283      | 172         | 148     | 135    | 116           | 10     | 40   | 71   | 51    |
| 130         | 285      | 194         | 158     | 127    | 83            | 14     | 53   | 80   | 47    |
| 131         | 106      | 62          | 61      | 45     | 34            | 8      | 21   | 21   | 12    |
| 132         | 289      | 172         | 150     | 139    | 93            | 15     | 43   | 61   | 53    |
| 133         | 250      | 176         | 170     | 80     | 97            | 27     | 34   | 76   | 39    |
| 134         | 205      | 127         | 127     | 78     | 82            | 5      | 27   | 58   | 37    |
| 135         | 142      | 77          | 82      | 60     | 50            | 7      | 11   | 45   | 14    |
| 136         | 155      | 97          | 76      | 79     | 52            | 3      | 26   | 40   | 28    |
| 137         | 367      | 196         | 179     | 188    | 59            | 23     | 64   | 47   | 62    |
| 138         | 284      | 147         | 162     | 122    | 94            | 20     | 33   | 58   | 36    |
| 139         | 272      | 152         | 165     | 107    | 94            | 15     | 24   | 58   | 55    |



| Poll<br>No. | Eligible |             | Eastern |        |               |        |      |      |       |
|-------------|----------|-------------|---------|--------|---------------|--------|------|------|-------|
|             | Voters   | Turn<br>out | Male    | Female | Euro-<br>pean | Dolman | Gray | Hawr | Papro |
| 140         | 417      | 243         | 188     | 229    | 87            | 23     | 64   | 72   | 84    |
| 141         | 229      | 145         | 126     | 103    | 64            | 12     | 36   | 61   | 36    |
| 142         | 337      | 182         | 230     | 107    | 113           | 14     | 38   | 75   | 55    |
| 143         | 242      | 107         | 170     | 72     | 78            | 10     | 23   | 41   | 33    |
| 144         | 308      | 151         | 250     | 58     | 134           | 27     | 24   | 51   | 49    |
| 145         | 415      | 320         | 262     | 153    | 38            | 18     | 150  | 45   | 107   |
| 146         | 103      | 53          | 89      | 14     | 18            | 7      | 19   | 17   | 10    |
| 147         | 421      | 182         | 345     | 76     | 123           | 13     | 34   | 84   | 51    |
| 148         | 75       | 31          | 66      | 9      | 7             | 4      | 10   | 4    | 13    |
| 149         | 346      | 117         | 292     | 54     | 34            | 19     | 28   | 42   | 28    |
| 150         | 403      | 273         | 203     | 200    | 90            | 32     | 56   | 94   | 91    |
| 151         | 404      | 173         | 242     | 162    | 76            | 22     | 38   | 50   | 63    |
| 152         | 131      | 68          | 89      | 42     | 17            | 4      | 15   | 22   | 27    |
| 153         | 239      | 161         | 124     | 115    | 24            | 22     | 42   | 38   | 50    |
| 154         | 186      | 132         | 95      | 91     | 23            | 9      | 32   | 36   | 55    |
| 155         | 230      | 138         | 113     | 117    | 24            | 16     | 56   | 20   | 46    |
| 156         | 390      | 240         | 205     | 186    | 33            | 11     | 120  | 37   | 72    |
| 157         | 390      | 267         | 176     | 214    | 35            | 17     | 131  | 33   | 86    |
| 158         | 447      | 244         | 216     | 231    | 49            | 22     | 104  | 34   | 84    |
| 159         | 375      | 251         | 155     | 220    | 38            | 10     | 108  | 36   | 97    |
| 160         | 311      | 223         | 93      | 218    | 25            | 17     | 99   | 18   | 89    |
| 161         | 99       | 77          | 36      | 63     | 5             | 3      | 25   | 15   | 34    |
| 162         | 194      | 105         | 118     | 76     | 13            | 16     | 37   | 15   | 37    |
| 163         | 336      | 227         | 158     | 178    | 19            | 25     | 74   | 49   | 79    |
| 164         | 161      | 83          | 79      | 82     | 23            | 6      | 30   | 12   | 35    |
| 165         | 175      | 91          | 86      | 89     | 14            | 4      | 47   | 8    | 32    |
| 166         | 286      | 219         | 108     | 178    | 19            | 12     | 120  | 21   | 66    |
| 167         | 58       | 41          | 1       | 57     | 9             | 1      | 33   | 1    | 6     |
| 168         | 275      | 203         | 131     | 144    | 16            | 7      | 111  | 24   | 61    |
| 169         | 35       | 35          | 1       | 34     | 4             | 0      | 28   | 2    | 5     |
| 170         | 314      | 203         | 131     | 183    | 21            | 3      | 147  | 18   | 35    |
| 171         | 106      | 72          | 45      | 61     | 28            | 1      | 28   | 13   | 30    |
| 172         | 109      | 71          | 49      | 60     | 16            | 6      | 36   | 7    | 22    |
| 173         | 74       | 33          | 37      | 37     | 10            | 5      | 11   | 12   | 5     |
| 174         | 363      | 253         | 170     | 193    | 60            | 7      | 136  | 32   | 78    |
| 175         | 447      | 306         | 222     | 225    | 77            | 21     | 162  | 40   | 83    |
| 176         | 326      | 227         | 137     | 200    | 52            | 17     | 97   | 31   | 82    |
| 177         | 352      | 246         | 166     | 186    | 42            | 15     | 113  | 32   | 86    |
| 178         | 276      | 211         | 100     | 176    | 47            | 9      | 90   | 50   | 62    |
| 179         | 505      | 354         | 233     | 272    | 46            | 9      | 197  | 37   | 111   |
| 180         | 459      | 325         | 210     | 249    | 37            | 20     | 178  | 18   | 109   |
| 181         | 458      | 267         | 239     | 219    | 56            | 22     | 113  | 28   | 104   |







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